

1608/811.

*John Knott, M.D.*  
*June 1, 1901.*

CAII CRISPI

X

S A L L U S T I I

CONJURATIO CATILINARIA

ET

*Wilson*

BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

ACCURATISSIME RECENSITA, PLURIMIS MENDIS EXPUR-  
GATA, ET SELECTISSIMIS CRISPINI, MINELLII, AC  
VARIORUM NOTIS, ANGLICE REDDITIS,  
ILLUSTRATA:

QUIBUS ETIAM ACCESSERUNT COMPLURES NOVÆ  
ANNOTATIONES, NUNC PRIMUM IN  
LUCEM EDITÆ;

CUM INDICE LOCUPLETISSIMO.

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DUBLINII:

IMPENSIS JOHANNIS EXSHAW.

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1795



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E R R A T A.

Page 80, line 6, for *militi* read *militiaque*.

88, note 1, for *Fingitana* read *Tingitana*, and delete  
the comma preceding *Fingitana*.











ANCIENT ITALY

for the History of  
CATALINES CONSPIRACY  
*from M. D'Anville.*

HADRIATICUM MARE

MARE

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CAII CRISPI SALLUSTII  
 BELLUM\*CATILINARIUM,  
 S I V E  
 DE CONJURATIONE CATILINÆ  
 EJUSQUE SOCIORUM.

C A P U T I.

**O**MNIS homines, qui sese student præstare ceteris animalibus, summâ ope niti decet, vitam silentio ne transeant veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis

N O T Æ.

\* In the first four chapters, by way of PREFACE, the Author gives his reasons for writing this history, which he introduces (chap. 5th) with the character of Catiline.

Chap. I. *The glory and excellence of virtue.*

1 *Ordo verborum.*—Decet omnis homines, qui student sese præstare ceteris animalibus, niti summa ope, ne transeant silentio vitam, veluti pecora, quæ natura finxit prona, atque obedientia ventri.

*Omniis*] According to the orthography, that prevailed in the days of Sallust; who flourished about the year of

Rome 702, in the time of the civil wars betwixt Pompey and J. Cæsar, and writes *omnis* for *omnes*, *alacris* for *alacras*, *communis* for *communes*, *civis* for *cives*, *hostis* for *hostes*, *urbis* for *urbes*; and so of other nouns, that have *ium* in the genitive plural. This too is frequently to be met with in Cæsar and Cicero; as also in Livy, Virgil, Horace, and other writers in the reign of Augustus.

3 *Ventri obedientia*] *Slaves to the belly*, i. e. to hunger and lust.

*Finxit.*] Formed. *Fingo* sometimes signifies to dissemble.

*Vis*] Power; properly force, also violence; sometimes plenty, abundance.

B

utimur;

utimur; alterum nobis cum dis, alterum cum belluis commune est: quo mihi rectius videtur, ingenii quàm virium opibus gloriam quærere, et (quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est) memoriam nostri quàm maxumè longam efficere; nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis, virtus clara æternâque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, 'vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis procederet?' nam, et prius quàm incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, maturè factò opus est: ita utrumque, per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id-primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; et jam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant: postea verò, quàm in Asiâ Cyrus, in Græciâ Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpère urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maximo imperio putare; tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimum ingenium posse. Quòd si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret; æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ ha-

# NOTÆ.

1 *Dis* for *diis*] In imitation of the ancients, whose manner he very much affects. When *Dis* is used for *Deus*, in the Nominative case, it signifies a God from eternity.

*Belluis*] Properly wild beasts, from *bellum*, the war they wage with one another.

*Ordo*.—Quo rectius videtur mihi esse, quærere gloriam opibus ingenii, quam opibus virium.

2 *Opibus*] Abilities.

3 *Ordo*.—Et quoniam ipsa vita est brevis, quâ fruimur, *videtur mihi rectius esse*, efficere memoriam nostri quam maxumè longam.

*Memoriam nostri*] This has a very different signification from *memoria nostra*: The former denotes the remembrance of us among posterity; the latter the remembrance we ourselves have of things past.

4 *Formæ*] Personal beauty.

*Maxumè*] The antient manner of spelling, instead of *Maxime*.

5 *Virtus*] Virtue; from *Vir*, as becoming a Man: also, manly fortitude.

*Diu magnum*] Ovid gives a remarkable instance of this, in the contest between *Ajax* and *Ulysses*. *M.t. lib. 13.*

6 *Res militaris*] The business of

7 *Procederet*] *Procedo* signifies properly to go on.

*Ordo*.—Nam & prius quàm incipias, opus est consulto; & ubi consulueris, *opus est factò* maturè: ita utrumque, indigens per se, eget auxilio alterum alterius.

*Consulueris*] Have deliberated

8 *Alterum alterius*] For action requires prudence, to guide and direct it; and prudence must be attended by activity, to put its dictates into speedy execution.

II. *The power and influence of virtue, and disgrace of indolence.*

3 *Sua cuique satis*] Every one was content with his own, and aspired no higher.

4 *Cyrus*] *Cyrus* is mentioned here in preference to *Ninus*, who was a conqueror before him; to confirm his argument, that military skill bears a greater sway in war, than personal bravery.

*Quàm in Asia Cyrus, in Græcia Lacedæmonii*] Anno Mundi 3627. Ante Christum 377.

*Lacedæmonii*] Sometimes called *Lacæones*; the inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta*.

*Athene*] A most celebrated city in Greece.

8 *Imperatorum*] From *imperare* to command.

berent;



berent; neque aliud aliò ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia, cerneret: nam imperium faciliè his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verùm, ubi pro labore desidia, pro continentia et æquitate lubido atque superbia invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur; ita imperium semper ad optimum quemque à minùs bono transfertur: quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales, dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique, vitam sicuti peregrinantes transgère; quibus profectò contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit: eorum ego vitam mortemque juxta æstumo, quoniam de utrâque filetur. Verùm enimvero is demum mihi vivere atque frui animâ videtur, qui, aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris aut artis bonæ famam quærit: sed, in magnâ copiâ rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace, vel bello clarum fieri licet; et qui fecere, et qui facta aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum, quòd facta dictis sunt exæquanda: dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malivolentiâ et invidiâ dicta putant; ubi de magnâ virtute et

## N O T Æ.

3 *Ubi*] *Ubi* and *ibi*, properly adverbs of place, are often (as here) referred to time.

4 *Pro*] Instead of.

5 *Optimum*] The best deserving.

6 *Ordo*.—Omnia, quæ homines arant, navigant, ædificant, parent virtuti.

*Quæ homines arant*] The arts of agriculture, navigation, and architecture, are all the products of *virtue*, i. e. of the powers of the mind well conducted. Our author has pointed out the excellency of the intellectual powers: 1. Their preference to riches and beauty; 2. Their being more conducive to success in warlike affairs, than bodily strength; 3. The useful influence they may have in matters of policy and government. And now; 4. He observes, that it is to them we owe the invention, the various improvements, the numberless advantages of agriculture, navigation, architecture, and all the other arts of life.

9 *Juxta*] Alike.

11 *Negotium*] Quasi *Nec Otium*, no idleness: sometimes difficulty.

12 *Facinus*] This word bears a good or bad sense, as the occasion may require; and signifies properly a deed of an extraordinary nature: *Præclari facinoris*, an illustrious action.

III. *The merit and hazard of an author.*

1 *Facinus*] From *facio*, to do.

2 *Haud absurdum*] From *ab* and *surdus*; worthy of attention. Absurdity is that, from which we turn our ears, as not deserving notice; and, in that respect, we may be said to be deaf.

3 *Ordo*.—ac, tametsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem, & auctorem rerum: tamen videtur mihi quidem in primis *esse* arduum, scribere res gestas.

5 *Arduum*] Properly, difficult of ascent, hard to be surmounted, fatiguing, troublesome, from whence the English word *Arduous*.

6 *Exæquanda*] That the diction may be as sublime, as the actions described were glorious.

*Ordo*.—quia plerique putant ea delicta, quæ reprehenderis, *esse* dicta malevolentia & invidia.

*Delictum*] From *delinquo*, to forsake one's duty.

7 *Ordo*.—ubi memores de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum, quisque accipit æquo animo ea, quæ putat *esse* sibi facilia factu; sed, quæ sunt supra ea, ducit pro falsis veluti ficta.



gloriâ bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta pro falsis ducit. Sed ego, adolescentulus, initio (sicuti plerique) studio ad rempublicam latus sum; ibique mihi adversa multa fuere: nam pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ, pro virtute, audacia, largitio, avaritia vigeant: quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur; ac me, cum ab reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido (eadem quæ ceteros) fama atque invidia vexabat.

IV. Igitur, ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem à republicâ procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium, socordiâ atque defidiâ bonum otium contere; neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere: sed, à quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere; eò magis, quòd mihi, à spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ, animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quàm verissimè potero, paucis absolvam; nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate: de cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quàm initium narrandi faciam.

## N O T Æ.

1 *Æquo animo*] Without contradiction, properly with an *even* undisturbed mind.

3 *Studio*] By inclination. Some read à studio, from study, i. e. from the study of books; in regard to the author's own words in the next chapter, sed à quo studio inceptoque me mala ambitio detinuerat, eodem regressus: thus in the 3d chap. he says, ambition drew him from study, and chap. 5th he quit ambitious pursuits, and returned to study, and his first and favourite undertaking of writing.

4 *Adversa*] For *adversa*.

5 *Audacia*] Impudence is here opposed to pudor modesty; largitio bribery, to virtus integrity; and avaritia covetousness, to abstinentia moderation.

6 *Insolens malarum artium*] Unaccustomed to vile practices.

7 *Ætas*] Age, time of life; ævum, an age, a long space of time.

*Ordo*.—nihilo minus eadem cupido honoris, quæ vexabat ceteros, atque etiam fama atque invidia vexabat me.

8 *Honoris cupido*] Some read cupidum, i. e. eadem fama atque invidia, quæ vexabat ceteros, etiam vexabat me cupidum

honoris, i. e. quia fui cupidus honoris.

8 *Cupido*] desire, of the feminine gender; the God of love, masculine.

IV. Sallust's motives for writing and choosing the history of Catiline's war.

1 *Multis miseriis*] If we may believe Dion, Acron, and Cicero; Sallust was accused by the Censors, for being a defiler of virgins, and an adulterer with married women. His excuse was, that he seduced only the daughters of freed men, that were not matrons: but the apology was so highly resented by the Senators, that they expelled him.

4 *Servilibus officiis*] Those of bodily labour; which are mean and low, when compared to the nobler exercises of the mind.

6 *Carptim*] Not following any order, but taking things as they occurred.

8 *A spe, metu, partibus*] This disuse of copulatives renders the style more striking and nervous.

9 *Paucis absolvam*] To make the sentence full and grammatical, we may understand *narrationem, historiam*, or some such word.



V. LUCIUS CATILINA, nobili genere natus, fuit magnâ vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravôque. Huic ab adolescentiâ bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quàm cuiquam credibile est: animus audax, subdolus, varius, cuiuslibet rei simulator ac dissimulator; alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus: satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum: vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat. Hunc, post dominationem Lucii Sullæ, libido maxuma invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ; neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat: agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox, inopiâ rei familiaris, et conscientiâ scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas suprâ memoravi: incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos (pessuma ac diversa inter se mala) luxuria atque avaritia vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de mori-

## N O T Æ.

V. *The character of Catiline.*

1 *Nobili*] He was the last of the *Sergian* race. *Nobilis*, worthy to be known.

2 *Bella intestina*] Civil wars; in the bowels of a country, and between the natives of it.

3 *Rapinæ*] From *rapio*, to take away by force.

*Ibique*] And therein, i. e. in the crimes aforesaid. *Ibi*, properly there, i. e. in that place, may also be referred to time or business; and signify *then*, or at that time; *therein*, or in that business, that affair, those things, &c. The same may be observed of most adverbs of place.

4 *Algoris*] Violent cold. *Algeo*, to freeze, is derived from the Greek for to grieve.

5 *Varius*] Of a temper, that could adapt itself to all occurrences.

6 *Simulator*] One, who pretends to be, what he really is not. *Dissimulator*, who pretends not to be, what he is.

*Profusus*] From *profundo*, to pour out, to spend foolishly.

7 *Satis loquentiæ*] All the old editions and Mss have *Eloquentiæ*.

8 *Ordo*.—Maxuma libido capiundæ reipublicæ invaserat hunc post dominationem L. Sullæ: neque *Catilina* habebat quicquam pensi, quibus modis adsequeretur id, dum pararet regnum sibi.

*Post dominationem L. Sullæ*] A. U. C. 675. The character of this great man may be gathered from his epitaph, writ-

ten by himself; that no man ever more served his friends; or was more cruel to his enemies. It is remarkable, that *Sylla's* body was the first, that was burnt at *Rome*; to avoid the fate of *Marius*, whose bones were dug up and cast away, by the orders of *Sylla*.

9 *Sylla*] A noble Roman of the family of the *Scipios*, competitor with *Marius* for the supreme power. This man's ancestor, *Publius Cornelius* the decemvir, got the name of *Sylla* (a contraction of *Sibylla*) from games he caused to be instituted in honour of *Apollo* by direction of the famous *Sibylline* books.

11 *Pensi habebat*] Did he regard.

13 *Ordo*.—Præterea mores corrupti civitatis incitabant *Catilinam*, quos mores luxuria atque avaritia, pessima ac diversa mala inter se, vexabant.

14 *Diversa*] Opposite, contrary.

15 *Ordo*.—quoniam tempus admonuit de moribus civitatis, res ipsa videtur portari me, repetere supra, ac differere paucis instituta majorum domi & militiæ, quomodo habuerint rempublicam, & quantum reliquerint, & ut immutata paulatim, facta sit pessima ac flagitiosissima ex pulcherrima.

*Res ipsa*] From the character of *Catiline*, the author breaks off here, to prepare the reader for his war, by a sketch of the Roman history, and of those vices and events, which gave occasion for the conspiracy.

bus

bus. civitatis tempus admonuit, suprà repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiaeque (' quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quan-  
' tàmque reliquerint; ut, paullatim immutata, ex pulcherrumâ pessumâ  
' ac flagitiosissima facta sit') differere.

VI. URBEM ROMAM (sicuti ego accepi) condidère atque habuère initio Trojani, qui Æneâ duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur; cùmque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia convenère, dispari genere, dissimili linguâ, alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est, quàm facilè coaluerint. Sed, postquam res eorum, civibus moribus agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est: igitur reges populique finitimi bello tentare, pauci ex amicis auxilio esse; nam ceteri, metu percussi, à periculis aberant. At Romani, domi militiaeque intenti, festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, ' hostibus  
' obviam ire, libertatem, patriam, parentésque armis tegere: ' pòst, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, fociis atque amicis auxilia portabant; magisque dandis, quàm accipiendis beneficiis, amicitias parabant. Imperium legitimum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, reipublicæ

con-

## N O T Æ.

2 *Habuerint*] Held, kept, managed.

VI. *The foundation and infant state of ROME.*

1 *Rome*] The capital of *Italy*, and once of the whole world; situated on the banks of the *Tiber*, in *Latium*; a part of *Italy*, first circumscribed by the *Tiber*, the *Anio*, and *Circean Promontory*; but afterwards extended to the *Liris*. *Rome* was built, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, by *Romulus*, a descendant from *Æneas*.

*Accepi*] Have heard; received, i. e. *auribus*, with my ears.

*Habueret*] held, possessed.

2 *Trojani*] The destruction of *Troy* was (according to the best chronologers) 1184 years before Christ, and *Rome* was built about 752.

*Sedibus*] habitations, fixed places of residence.

*Vagor*] quasi *vacuus ager*.

3 *Aborigines*] The original inhabitants,

who lived there first and (*ab origine*) from the beginning.

4 *Sine imperio*] Without a king, *Latinus* being dead.

5 *Alius alio more viventes*] Each living after a different manner.

9 *Reges*] *Pyrrhus* and *Mithridates*. *Populi*que finitimi] The *Samnites*, *He- trusci*, &c. *A. U. C.* 431.

*Tentare*] Sub. *solebant*.

*Bello tentare*] A mode of expression, not only familiar to *Sallust*, but to most historians.

12 *Parentésque*] Such, as were superannuated, and thereby rendered unfit for the service.

15 *Ordo*.—delecti, quibus corpus erat infirmum annis, sed ingenium erat validum sapientia, consultabant reipublicæ.

16 *Reipublicæ*] A republick, or commonwealth, is a form of government, where the power is lodged in many persons. If the Nobles have this power, as in *Venice*, it is called an *Aristocracy*, from

consultabant; hi, vel ætate vel curæ similitudine, Patres appellabantur. Põst, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia binosque imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minumẽ posse, putabant, per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

VII. Sed eã tempestate cœpere, se quisque magis magisque extollere, ingeniumque in promptu habere: nam regibus boni quàm mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adeptã libertate quantum brevi creverit; tantã cupido gloriæ incesseerat. Jam primũ juvenus, simul ac laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat; magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quàm in scortis atque conviviis, lubricinẽ habebant: igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale

## NOTÆ.

*Ἀριστος optimus*, and *Κρατιστο impero*. If the supreme power is placed in the hands of the People, as in Holland, it is called a *Democracy*, from *ἄριστος* *populus*, and *κρατιστο impero*. If, in the hands of a Few, as in Ragusa, it is called an *Oligarchy*, from *ὀλιγος* *paucus*, and *αἰχνη imperium*. *Respublica* is compounded of *Res* and *publica*, and literally signifies an affair of general or public concern. The Romans had three different forms of government: that of the Kings, which lasted 250 years; that of the Consuls, 450; and that of the Emperors, 360.

3 *Conservandæ libertatis*] Sub. *Causã*: at first erected for the sake of preserving liberty.

4 *Superbiam*] Alluding to *Tarquin* the proud, who was dethroned by *Brutus*. *Dominationem*] Tyranny.

5 *Binosque imperatores*.] Two Consuls annually elected. *Duo*, signifies Two, separately or together: *Bini* is used, when Two are in conjunction.

VII. *The advantages of a free state, and merit of the Roman people.*

1 *Eã*] i. e. After the expulsion of the kings, and establishment of the republic.

*Cœpere quisque*] They began, every one of them.

6 *Belli patiens*] Able to bear the fatigues and hardships of a military life, or at the proper age for the service, which was at sixteen.

*In castris per usum*] By training in the camp.

7 *Scortis*] Harlots; so called in Latin, from skins they either wore or lay upon. *Scortum*, properly the dressed hide of a beast; *pellis*, the skin of a beast undrest; *cutis*, human skin.

*Lubidinem habebant*] Took a pleasure.

11 *Ordo*—quisque properabat hostem ferire, ascendere murum, & conspici dum faceret tale facinus.

*Sese quisque*] One did not wait for another, to help him to attack the enemy; but endeavoured to be first, that he might obtain the military rewards.

*Ferire*] To wound or slay, properly to strike: it sometimes also signifies to establish, as *ferire fœdus*, to make a league or treaty, &c. because that, on such occasions, the beast they sacrificed was knocked down, with an imprecation, 'that their brains may be so dashed out, if they broke their engagements.'

facinus

facinus faceret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parvâ manu fuderit, quas urbis naturâ munitas pugnando ceperit; nî ea res longius ab incepto traheret.

VIII. Sed profectò fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas, ex lubricine magis quàm ex vero, celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuere; verum aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur: sed, quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur; ita eorum qui fecere virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuere extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Romano numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissimus quisque negotiosus maxumè erat; ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat: optumus quisque, facere quàm dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quàm ipse aliorum narrare, malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiaeque boni mores colebantur; concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat; jus bonumque apud eos, non legibus magis quàm naturâ, valebat; jurgia, discordias, simulates, cum hostibus exercebant; cives cum civibus de virtute certabant; in sup-

### N O T Æ.

3 *Memorare possem*] This refers to the victory gained by Lucullus over the forces of Tygranes, king of Armenia, whose army consisted of 250000 men. Lucius Marius also beat a numerous body of Carthaginians on the plains of Illiberis in Spain.

4 *Manu*] a small army, or a handful of men.

5 *Longius*] i. e. *Quàm par sit, or deceat.*

VIII. *Why Athens more renowned than Rome.*

2 *Ordo.*—Res gestæ Atheniensium fuere (sicut ego existimo) satis amplæ magnificæque: verum fuere tamen aliquanto minores, quàm feruntur fama: sed quia magna ingenia scriptorum provenire ibi, facta Atheniensium celebrantur per orbem terrarum pro maximis: ita virtus eorum, qui fecere ea, habetur tanta, quantum præclara ingenia potuere extollere ea verbis.

4 *Famâ*] is derived (*a fando*) from speaking well or ill of a person.

5 *Scriptorum*] Such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon.

*Ingenia*] Wits, men of genius.

8 *Copia*] Not only *plenty*, but also opportunity, advantage, ability. It is here taken in this last sense.

9 *Sine corpore exercebat*] The Romans always used bodily exercise, together with the labours of study.

10 *Exerceo*] From *ex* and *arceo*; qu. to drive away idleness.

IX. *Courage and equity, source and support of the grandeur of the Roman people.*

2 *Bonum*] Equity.

3 *Jurgia*] From *jurgo* to contend.

4 *Supplicii*] Literally punishments; here used for such sacrifices, as were offered out of the fines of criminals.

plicii



pliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audaciâ in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque rémpu- que publicam curabant: quarum rerum ego maxumâ documenta hæc habeo, quòd sæpius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hostem pugnaverant, quique tardius (revocati) bello excesserant; quàm, qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi loco cedere, ausi erant: in pace verò, quod beneficiis magis quàm metu imperium agitabant, et, acceptâ injuriâ ignoscere, quàm persequi malebant.

X. Sed, ubi labore atque justitiâ respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, (æmula imperii Romani,) ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant; sævire fortuna ac miscere omnia cæpit: qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facillè toleraverant; iis otium, divitiæ (optandæ aliis) oneri miseræque fuere. Igitur, primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem, ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his, superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in linguâ promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo æstumare, magisque vultum quàm ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primò paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari: post, ubi contagio, quasi pestilentia, invasit; civitas immutata, imperium ex justissimo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.

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1 Ordo.—Et curabant se, et rémpu-  
licam his duabus artibus, audaciâ in bello;  
et æquitate, ubi pax evenerat.

5 Ordo.—Et qui revocati, excesserant  
prius tardius, quam illi, qui erant ausi  
relinquere signa, aut pulsi loco cedere.

6 Signa] Properly *Signi*; here (and in  
such passages) the *standards* or ensigns used  
in the army, to guide and direct the sol-  
diers in their march, &c. also sometimes  
the *signals* given; or signs made to the  
men, to begin or forbear fighting.

7 Beneficiis quam] *Magis* is here ele-  
gantly left out by the figure *Ellipsis*.

X. *Avarice and Ambition, cause of the  
decline of the Republick.*

1 Reges magni] Syphax, Antiochus,  
Mithridates, &c.

2 Nationes feræ] Thracians, Gauls,  
Spaniards.

Carthago] Carthage, a celebrated  
city and republick of Africa, about 30  
miles from the present Tunis, built by  
queen Dido. *Justin.*

3 Æmula imperij Romani] Properly

(speaking, Rome was the rival of Car-  
thage, on account of her wealth and  
growing power, proceeding from exten-  
sive commerce, in which she succeeded  
the once flourishing city of Tyre Car-  
thage was taken and destroyed by the  
younger Scipio, in the year of Rome,  
607 or 8, and 708 years after its foun-  
dation. It contained a great number of  
Inhabitants, and was 24 miles in circuit.  
It continued burning 17 days. The con-  
queror could not refrain tears, at the  
fall of this mighty rival of Rome.

Stirpe interiit] Carthage was destroy-  
ed by Scipio Africanus.

4 Ordo.—Et iis, qui toleraverant fa-  
cile labores, pericula, res dubias atque  
asperas, otium, & divitiæ, optandæ aliis,  
fuere oneri, & miseræ.

7 Materies] From *Mater*, the cause,  
origin, source: sometimes, the substance,  
stuff, materials, of which any thing is  
made or formed.

10 Falsus] Fraudulent.

14 Contagio] By infected contact, Ab-  
lat from contagium.



XI. Sed primò magis ambitio, quàm avaritia, animos hominum exercebat; quod tamen vitium propius virtutem erat: nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus, æquè sibi exoptant; sed ille verà viâ nititur; huc quia bonæ artes defunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea, quasi venenis malis imbuta, corpus animûmque virilem effeminat; semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copiâ neque inopiâ minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis receptâ republicâ, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere: domum alius, alius agros cupere; neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quòd L. Sulla exercitum quem in Asiam ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum luxuriosè nimisque liberaliter habuerat; loca amœna, voluptaria, facilè in ocio ferocis militum animos molliwerant. Ibi primùm insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari; ea privatim ac publicè rapere; delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere: igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere; quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant; nedum illi corruptis moribus victoriæ temperarent.

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpere; et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebatur: hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi,

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XI. *Luxury, first introduced by Sylla's army, increased the evils of ambition and avarice.*

8 *Ordo.*—Sed postquam L. Sylla habuit malos eventus ex bonis initiis, republica recepta armis; omnis rapere, omnes trahere: alius cupere domum, alius agros; et victores neque habere modum, neque modestiam; facere facinora fœda et crudelia in cives.

*Sed postquam L. Sulla* Alluding to the dreadful consequences of Sylla's administration, when every species of crimes became frequent.

*Receptâ republicâ* Having recovered (from Marius) his authority in the Commonwealth.

*Bonis initiis* Sylla at first pretended to act entirely for the public good.

*Malos eventus* By oppressing the common wealth.

10 *Cupere* Such of Sylla's partizans as took a liking to any one's house or land, had his name inserted in the list of the proscribed.

11 *Ordo.*—Huc accedebat, quod L. Sylla habuerat exercitum eum, quem ductaverat in Asiam, contra morem majorum luxuriosè, et nimis liberaliter, quo feceret exercitum fidum sibi.

*Huc accedebat* i. e. *ad hoc*. Here the Author gives the strongest reasons, for the general depravity of manners.

13 *Morem majorum* That is, contrary to all military discipline, as heretofore practised.

14 *Molliwerant* Had softened, i. e. made effeminate.

15 *Ibi* In Asia.

16 *Privatim ac publicè* Pillaging, on a private account, as well as bringing plunder into the Treasury.

XII. *The public corruption, owing to the joint contagion of ambition, avarice and luxury,*

2 *Ordo.*—Virtus cœpit hebescere, paupertas haberi probro, innocentia cœpit duci proi malavolentia.

*Hebescere* Grew languid, remiss. innocentia

innocentia pro malivolentiâ duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritiâ, cum superbiâ invasere; rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operæ præti-um est, cùm domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædi-  
ficatas, visere templa Deorum, quæ nostri majores, (religiosissimi mortales) fecere. Verùm illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suâ glo-  
riâ decorabant; neque victis quidquam, præter injuriæ licentiam eripie-  
bant: at hi contrâ ignavissimi homines, per summum scelus, omnia  
ea fociis adimere, quæ fortissimi viri victores reliquerant; proinde  
quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quid ea memorem, quæ (nisi iis, qui videre) nemini cre-  
dibilia sunt; à privatis compluribus subverfos montes, maria constructa  
esse? quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas ho-  
nestè habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed libido  
stupri, ganæ, ceterisque cultûs, non minor inceserat: viri pati mulie-  
bria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi causâ, terrâ  
marique omnia exquirere; dormire prius, quàm somni cupido esset;  
non famem aut sitim; neque frigus neque lassitudinem opperiri, sed  
ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes de-  
fecerant, ad facinora incendebant: animus, imbutus malis artibus haud  
facilè lubricinibus carebat; eo profusus omnibus modis quæstui atque  
sumptui deditus erat.

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1 *Innocentia*] Integrity, *malivolentia*, moroseness, ill nature.

3 *Ordo*.—Et habere pudorem, pudicitiam divina atque humana promiscua, et habere nihil pensi, neque moderati.

XIII. *The private vices and debaucheries, introduced by luxury.*

1 *Ordo*.—Nam quid memorem ea, quæ nemini sunt credibilia, nisi hi, qui videre ea; scilicet montes esse subverfos a compluribus privatis, maria esse constructa? Quibus divitiæ videntur mihi fuisse ludibrio: quippe properabant abuti divitiis per turpitudinem, quas licebat habere honeste.

2 *Mons*] *Quasi Eminent*, high, used by Virgil to express a mountainous wave of the sea. *Præruptis Aquæ Mons*.

3 *Honestè habere*] Spent with credit to themselves.

4 *Habere*] Use, enjoy.

*Turpitudinem*] Luxury.

*Ordo*.—Sed non minor libido stu-

pri, ganæ, et cæteri cultus inceserat Romanos. Viri pati muliebria: mulieres habere pudicitiam in propatulo: exquirere omnia terra et mari causa vescendi.

5 *Cultus*] Properly, manner of living, here signifies, irregularity or extravagance.

*Viri pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere*] The author here enumerates the pernicious causes, from whence the general corruption of manners proceeded, viz. Luxury and unbounded licentiousness.

6 *In propatulo*] In common; *Propatulum* (from *pro* and *pateo*) any thing that is very wide and open.

9 *Hæc*] These vices.

*Ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad facinora incendebant*] A natural consequence of ruining themselves by vicious extravagance, for the same unhappy dispositions that contribute to the destruction of a libertine, generally suggest, the most infamous means of supplying his vices.

XIV. In tantâ tamque corruptâ civitate, CATILINA, (id, quod factu facillimum erat) omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium, aut facinus redimeret; præterea omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti iudiciis, aut pro factis iudicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremo omnes, quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus *exagitabat*; ii Catilinæ proximi familiarsque erant: quod si quis etiam à culpâ vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facillè par similisque ceteris efficiebatur. Sed maxumè adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi, molles & ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficulter capiebantur: Nam uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere, aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremo neque sumtui neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidesque sibi faceret. Scio, fuisse nonnullos, qui ita æstumarent; juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parum honestè pudicitiam habuisse: sed, ex aliis rebus magis, quàm quod cuiquam compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jamprimum adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, et alia hujuscemodi con-

# NOTÆ.

XIV. After a Digression of eight chapters, (in which, by way of INTRODUCTION to the conspiracy, the vices which caused it are accounted for) the Author returns, from the character of Catiline, to that of his Accomplices.

1 *Ordo*.—Catilina habebat in tanta et tam corrupta civitate, id quod erat facillimum factu, catervas omnium flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum.

2 *Flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum*. Are here put for *flagitiosorum* and *facinorosorum*, as cap. xxiv. *servitia* is put for *servi*, and cap. xxxvi. *vicinitas* for *vicini*, cap. xlviii. *conjuratio* for *conjurati*, and commonly *nobilitas* for *nobiles*, *juventus* for *juvenes*; Et. i. v. the abstract for the concrete.

3 *Flagitium*. Among the antients signified the violation of a virgin's chastity.

4 *Ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua*. Subintelligitur *facinoræ*.

5 *Consciis animis*. An evil conscience, a mind conscious of crimes. *Consciis* is

sometimes taken in a good sense.

6 *Maxumè*. Most, chiefly, in preference to others.

7 *Modestiam suam*. His honour.

8 *Obnoxios*. Signifies in general, exposed or liable to, but here, it means, obliged, or strongly attached to his party, on account of some crime; from *ob* and *noxia*, *noxiam* *blasp. may*.

9 *Fidesque*. Sibi nempe.

10 *Ex aliis rebus*. From their bad characters, and the infamous facts they had committed.

11 *Forer*. Could have been.

12 *Hæc fama valebat*. The meaning is, that tho', nothing could be particularly proved, yet from their intimacy with so bad a man as Catiline, every ill quality was attributed to them.

XV. Catiline's private life and amours.

2 *Cum sacerdote Vestæ*. Vesta the goddess of fire, and the priestess, a *foco*. The priestesses of Vesta, were four in number,



jus fasque. Postremò, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus præter formam nihil unquam bonus laudavit; quòd ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adultâ ætate, pro certo creditur, necato filio vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse: quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur causâ fuisse facinoris maturandi; namque animus impurus, dis hominibûsque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat; ita conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi; citus modò, modò tardus, incessus; prorsus in facie vultûque recordia inerat.

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, (ut suprà diximus) illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat: ex illis, testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula, vilia habere. Post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si causâ peccandi in præsens minùs suppetebat, nihilo minùs infontes sicuti fontes circumvenire, jugulare: scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuitò potiùs malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociisque confusus, (Catilina simul, quòd æs alienum per omnis terras ingens erat; et quòd plerique Sullani milites, largiùs suo usi, rapinarum

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ber, established by Numa Pompilius, to watch over the sacred fire, that burned perpetually, and which was thought an emblem of the duration of the Roman state.

1 *Contra jus fasque*] Jus human law, fas the divine law. *Idior V. orig. cap. ii.*

*Aureliæ Orestillæ*] A woman of infamous character, with whom Catiline had an intrigue.

2 *Quòd ea nubere illi*] Nubo, originally signifies to veil, or cover, for the virgins anciently covered their heads, through modesty, on being married. Nubo, is applied to the woman, as *duco* is to the man.

*Dubitabat*] Dared not.

3 *Timens privignum*] Privignus, is the son of the husband or wife, by a former marriage. *Privignus dicitur, quasi prius genitus.*

*Necato*] Poisoned, according to *Valer. Velerius Maximus.*

5 *Animus impurus*] The antients generally used *impurus* impure, for *improbus*, wicked.

7 *Exsanguis*] Pale; the blood being driven from the extremities, to support the vital parts.

*Fœdi*] Menacing.

8 *Facie*] His whole outward appearance.

XVI. Catiline's preparation for the conspiracy.

2 *Illis*] Scil. facinoribus.

4 *Attriverat*] Made worse. *Attero* signifies to consume or wear one body, by rubbing it against another.

*Majora alia*] Such as these following.

5 *Infentes*] Those who did not oppose his design, and consequently were innocent with respect to him.

6 *Circumvenire, jugulare*] These words, as to their construction, depend upon *imperabat*, which is here understood.

7 *Gratuitò*] Without gaining any advantage from it.

8 *Æs alienum*] Signifies another person's money, and was the usual phrase, for debt, which is the possession of another's property. *Æs* literally means brass, which being the first metal, coined by the Romans, is put for money in general. They had no silver money till after the war with Pyrrhus, *A. U. C. 484.*

9 *Largiùs suo usi*] Too freely, more extravagantly, *quam oporteret*, than they ought.

et victoriæ veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant) opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italiâ nullus exercitus; Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes; senatus nihil sanè intentus; tutæ tranquillæque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

XVII. Igitur circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Cæfare & C. Figulo Consulibus,

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1 *Exoptabant*] Earnestly wish'd.

2 *Cneius Pompeius*] Called Pompey the great, was the son of Pompeius-Strabo, who was elected consul with Porcius Cato, *A. U. C.* 666. He married Julia the daughter of Julius Cæsar, on account of which alliance, he, together with his father-in-law and Marcus Crassus, surnamed the rich, was elected to the office of triumvir, and these three shared the Empire among them. After the death of Julia, Cæsar began to cool in his friendship to Pompey, and these two great men, became implacable enemies. Cæsar drove Pompey out of Italy, who taking refuge in Greece, the famous battle of Pharsalia was fought *A. U. C.* 900, which giving the victory to Cæsar decided the fate of the Republic. Pompey flying into Ægypt was basely murdered by the order of king Ptolomy.

3 *In extremis terris*] Carrying on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes in Pontus and Armenia, which places, with respect to the Romans, who styled themselves masters of the world, were most remote.

*Ipsi*] Scilicet Catilinæ.

*Consulatum petundi magna spes*] Every one was not at liberty to stand candidate for this high office: And probably there was something in Catiline's case, which disqualified him at present, and which he was in hopes of getting removed, in order to appear for the consulate. This conjecture is strongly supported by what is said to this purpose in *cap.* xviii.

4 *Nihil sanè intentus*] The senate taking no great care, but lulled into security, administered the government negligently, as apprehensive of no danger.

*Sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ*] All things were favourable to Catiline, prorsus, absolutely, entirely.

XVII. *The accomplices and favourers of the conspiracy.*

1 *Kalendas Junias*] The Romans had three remarkable days in each month, from which all the rest were denominated and computed, viz. the *Kalends*, *Nones* and *Ides*.

The first day of the month was called *Kalendæ*. The 15th of March, May, July and October, was the day of the *Ides*; but, of the other months, the 10th, and the day of the *Nones* was the 9th, before the *Ides*. In reckoning they went backwards; and called all after the *Ides*, days of the *calends* of the following months; the words *kalendæ*, *nonæ*, *idus*, were used in the genitive or accusative case, after the numeral adjective that agreed with the day, and the adjective of the month agreed, either with the word *mensis* understood, or with the Latin for *kalendæ*, *nonæ*, *idus*; except *Aprilis*, which agreed only with *mensis*. In *Leap-years*, the 6th of the *kalends* of March was twice used, February having then 29 days, whence that year was called *Bissextile*. Sometimes the letter *a*, with or without a point after it, was used before *kal. non. id.* instead of the preposition *ante*, which must be understood before these words if used in the accusative case, in dating. The following Latin verses, with the table fully explain the whole.

Junius, Aprilis, Septemque, Novemque  
*tricenos,*

Unum plus reliqui; Februus tenet octo  
*viginti;*

*At si bissextus fuerit, superadditur unus.*

*Tu primam mensis lucem dic esse kalendas,*  
Sex Maius nonas, October, Julius &  
Mars, [Octo.]

*Quatuor ut reliqui; dabit idus quilibet*  
*Omnes post idus lucem dic esse kalendas,*  
*Nomen sortiri debent à mense sequenti.*



fulibus, primò singulos adpellare: hortari alios, alios tentare; opes suas, impa-

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A TABLE of the KALENDS, NONES and IDES.				
Days of the Month.	March, May, July, October.	Jan. August, December.	April, June, Sept. Nov.	February.
1	KALENDÆ.	KALENDÆ.	KALENDÆ.	KALENDÆ.
2	VI. }	IV. }	IV. }	IV. }
3	V. } Non.	III. } Non.	III. } Non.	III. } Non.
4	IV. }	Prid. }	Prid. }	Prid. }
5	III. }	N O N Æ.	N O N Æ.	N O N Æ.
6	Prid. }	VIII. }	VIII. }	VIII. }
7	N O N Æ.	VII. }	VII. }	VII. }
8	VIII. }	VI. }	VI. }	VI. }
9	VII. }	V. } Id.	V. } Id.	V. } Id.
10	VI. }	IV. }	IV. }	IV. }
11	V. } Id.	III. }	III. }	III. }
12	IV. }	Prid. }	Prid. }	Prid. }
13	III. }	I D U S.	I D U S.	I D U S.
14	Prid. }	XIX. }	XVIII. }	XVI. }
15	I D U S.	XVIII. }	XVII. }	XV. }
16	XVII. }	XVII. }	XVI. }	XIV. }
17	XVI. }	XVI. }	XV. }	XIII. }
18	XV. }	XV. }	XIV. }	XII. }
19	XIV. }	XIV. }	XIII. }	XI. }
20	XIII. }	XIII. }	XII. }	X. }
21	XII. }	XII. }	XI. }	IX. }
22	XI. }	XI. }	X. }	VIII. }
23	X. }	X. }	IX. }	VII. }
24	IX. }	IX. }	VIII. }	VI. }
25	VIII. }	VIII. }	VII. }	V. }
26	VII. }	VII. }	VI. }	IV. }
27	VI. }	VI. }	V. }	III. }
28	V. }	V. }	IV. }	Prid. }
29	IV. }	IV. }	III. }	
30	III. }	III. }	Prid. }	
31	Prid. }	Prid. }		

Romulus began his month on the first day of the new moon; and on this day one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people in the Capitol, and call over as many days as there were between that and the *nones*: and so, from the old verb *calo*, to call, the first day of the month had the name of *kalendæ*. But this custom continued only till the year of Rome 450, when Cn. Flavius, the *curule ædile*, ordered the *fasti* or *kalendar*, to be fixed up in publick places, that every body might know the times, and the return of the festivals.

The *nonæ* were so called, because, reckoning inclusively, there are nine

days from them to the *ides*.

The word *ides* is derived from *idare*, an obsolete verb, borrowed from the Etrurian language, which signifies to divide.

The Greeks had no *kalends*; whence the Latin proverb *ad kalendas Græcas* is used to signify a time that will never happen: Augustus, speaking of desperate debtors, used, in a facetious manner, to say, *ad kalendas Græcas soluturos*.

1 *Hortari alios, alios tentare*] He endeavoured to prevail on those, who were already acquainted with the conspiracy, to join him, and to tempt others of whose fidelity to his party, he was doubtful.

imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit; in unum omnis convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo, et plurimum audaciæ: eò convenère, senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sullæ, Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius; præterea ex equestri ordine M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinus Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc, multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea

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2 *Explorata*] Certainly known, assured of, *exploro* signifies to pry into, or search to the bottom. *Totum Regnum exploravit*, he searched the whole kingdom.

*In unum*] Scil. Locum.

*Quibus maxuma necessitudo, & plurimum audaciæ*] Those who were most indigent, and most intrepid. *Necessitudo* has a double signification in this place, it either means poverty, or distress, or else, the absolute necessity they were under, of complying with Catiline, on account of obligations, or consanguinity. A Latin adjective neuter, governing a genitive case, as *plurimum audaciæ*, must be translated with the word sort, kind, degree, or some such substantive.

4 *Pub. Lentulus Sura*] Catiline seems very properly to have confederated with this man, for, as Plutarch relates, he had committed many frauds, when he was Quæstor, under the dictatorship of Sylla, who calling him to account, he impudently answered *nil habeo quod reddem, en suram præbeo*, shewing his leg in ridicule, from whence, the surname of *Sura*, was ever after given him.

*P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. & Servius Sylla Servii filii, L. Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Curius*] Publius Autronius, was school-fellow with Cicero, his colleague in the Quæstorship, and consul elect. Cassius was the person designed to set fire to the city. Cethegus was a most audacious villain, who being banished during the civil wars, fled to Sylla, and was ever his follower. P. and Servius Sylla, were nephews to Sylla the dictator. L. Vargunteius was the person, who, with C. Cornelius, were to have stabbed Cicero in his bed, the night of the 2d Nov. M. Porcius

Læca, was the person, in whose house, the consultations were held. Q. Curius had been Quæstor, and was a great dice-player.

6 *Ex equestri ordine*] The equites or Roman knights were at first no other than the life-guards of Romulus, consisting of 300 young men, and called *celeret*, à *ministerii celeritate*. Tarquinius Priscus afterward increased their number to 600. But they had no authority, and made no figure in the State till A. U. 631, when C. Gracchus, tribune of the commons, found means to transfer the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the equites. This produced a remarkable change in the government. The Roman citizens came now to consist of three orders, viz. the senatorian, equestrian, and plebeian. And persons were admitted into the two former according to their fortunes. One that was worth 800 *sestertia* was capable of being chosen a senator; one that had 400 might be taken into the equestrian order. These equites or knights had a gold ring and a horse allowed them at the publick charge.

8 *Ex coloniis & municipiis*] *Colonia* is derived, *ab incolendo*. *Coloniæ* were towns, states, or communities where the chief part of the inhabitants had been transplanted from Rome, who mingling with the natives obtained the chief authority, and managed the administration according to the Roman laws. *Municipia* (commonly rendered free towns, enfranchised towns, hanse towns, or borough towns) were corporations or cities, which, for their good services, or upon other considerations, were allowed the use of their own laws, and at the same time honoured with

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præterea complures paullo occultius consilii hujusce participes, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quam inopia aut alia necessitudo: ceterum juvenus pleraque, sed maxumè nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnificè vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. Fuere item eâ tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ducabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, faciliè apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed antea item conjuravere pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina: de quâ, quam verissumè potero, dicam. L. Tullo M. Lepido Consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla (designati Consules) legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant: post paullo Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat petere consulatum; quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore

Cn.

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with the immunities and privileges of Roman citizens. See Kennet, B. IV. ch. 18.

1 *Erant præterea complures*] Others as well as Catiline, who were secretly well-wishers to his conspiracy, such as (perhaps) Cæsar, Antony, &c.

3 *Maxumè*] Most especially.

5 *Fuere*] There were some amongst the Romans.

6 *Eâ tempestate*] At the time of the conspiracy.

*Crassum*] On account of his insatiable avarice, tho' the most opulent citizen in Rome, he was suspected of favouring this conspiracy. He began the war against the *Parthians*, entirely for the sake of plunder, and perished in it, with his whole army.

7 *Ipsi*] Crassus.

8 *Ordo—Credent eum voluisse opes cujusvis crescere contra potentiam illius: & crederent eum simul confisum, si conjuratio valuissent, se fore facile principem apud illos.*

*Cujusvis*] Any man's, even a traitor's.  
*Illius*] Pompey's.

XVIII. *The former Conspiracy of Catiline with Piso; a digression of two chapters.*

2 *De quâ*] Scil. conjuratione, referring to the verb *conjuravere*.

2 *L. Tullo, M. Lepido*] Some time after the death of Sylla; A. U. C. 679.

3 *Designati Consules*] The consuls were chosen about the end of July, or beginning of August; but did not enter on their office, till the first of January following: During which time they were called *consules designati*, and in point of honour had the precedence of all the senators.

4 *Legibus ambitus*] *Ambire* is to go about, and caress the people, for their votes; and *crimen ambitus* was, when any one made use of bribes, or other base and corrupt methods, for this end; against which many severe laws were made, called *leges ambitus*, or *leges de ambitu*. Hence *ambitio*.

5 *Pecuniarum repetundarum*] Extortion or oppression, committed in the provinces by the provincial magistrates, was called *crimen pecuniarum repetundarum*; as being a case, wherein repetition and restitution were allowed by the senate, to the people or party so injured.

6 *Quod intra legitimos dies*] The time prescribed by law, as being found guilty of bribery. It was usual for the candidate, to give in his name 30 days before the election.

*Proferri*] To give in his name, as a petitioner for the consulate; which, by

Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulant; cum hâc Catilina et Autronius (circiter Nonas Decembr.) consilio communicato, parabant in Capitolio Kalendis Januariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Eâ re cognitâ, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis transtulerant. Jam tum, non consulibus modò, sed plerisque senatoribus, perniciem machinabantur: quòd, nî Catilina maturâsset pro cûria signum sociis dare; eo die (post conditam urbem Romanam) pessimum facinus patratum foret: quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium diremit.

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor pro prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso, quòd eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio

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the laws of Rome, no one was allowed to do, who lay under the imputation of any crime.

1 *Nobilis*] As being descended from *Calpus* the son of *Numa*.

4 *In Capitolio Kalendis*] This being the day the consuls entered upon their office, they went, attended by their friends, in procession to the Capitol, to perform their devotion to the Gods, and implore their favour.

5 *Fasces*] Bundles of rods or twigs, of beech or elm, bound round an Axe; which the Lictors or serjeants carried before the consuls, as ensigns of their dignity and power; whence they are taken (as here) for the consular power. The prætor, was intitled to six, the consuls to twelve, and the dictator to as many as the two consuls. *Tarquinius Priscus*, fifth king of Rome, introduced the use of them, *A. U. C.* 139.

6 *Duas Hispanias*] The Romans divided Spain into Citerior or Turraconensis, and Ulterior or Bætica. The first comprehended the modern provinces of Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, Asturia, Gallicia, Leon, and both Castiles. The latter included, Granada, and the kingdom of Portugal.

7 *Nonas*] They were so called, because they reckoned nine days to the *ides*.

8 *Machinabantur*] *Machinor*, signifies to attempt, or contrive any thing, by treachery; it is derived from the substantive, *machinor*, an engine.

9 *Maturâsset*] Had been in too much haste.

9 *Pro cûria*] Before the senate-house, or place where their assemblies were held, strictly a court of justice.

10 *Facinus*] Here means the consulship. *Patratum*] From *Patro* to confirm, establish, commit.

11 *Foret*] Would have been.

### XIX. The fate of Piso.

1 *Quæstor*] A Roman officer employed in gathering the tributes and taxes, a *quærendo*. The first institution of this employment, was (according to *Livy*) *A. U. C.* 269, when two *Quæstors* were appointed. Afterwards, two others were added, to take care of the payment of the armies abroad, *A. U. C.* 332, and attended the consuls in their expeditions; on which account they were called *Quæstores peregrini*, as the former assumed the title of *Urbani*. *Tacitus* relates, that *Sylla* the Dictator, created twenty, to fill up the senate; and *Dio* mentions forty, instituted by *J. Cæsar*, with the same design.

*Pro prætore*] The Prætors at Rome were superintendants of the courts of justice; of whom there were two: The one applied himself wholly to the distribution of justice among the citizens, and had the name of *Prætor urbanus*: The other was appointed judge in all matters relating to foreigners, and was called *Prætor peregrinus*. The provincial Prætors (by whom most of the provinces, except the two allotted for the Consuls, were governed) were not only

peio cognoverat: neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat; quippe, sœdum hominem à republicâ procul abesse, volebat; simul, quia boni complures præsidium in eo putabant, et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso in provinciam ab equitibus Hispanis (quos in exercitu ducabat) iter faciens occisus est: sunt, qui ita dicunt; imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati; alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidôsque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem aggressos: numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa antea perpeffos: nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullò antè memoravi, convenisse videt; tamen cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium secessit; atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procul amotis, orationem hujuscemodi

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ly supreme judges in all matters within their own provinces; but had, when occasion required, the command of armies; and were in all respects invested with the same authority in their own provinces and armies, as the Consuls were in theirs, and had the same power as deputy governors have now in our constitution. A person, sent to officiate in lieu of the Consul or Prætor, was called Proconsul or Proprætor; or, writing separately, he was said to be *missus pro Consule* or *pro Prætor*.

1 *Dederat*] To Piso.

4 *Formidolosa erat*] Pompey's ambition began to be dreaded, as he was suspected of forming designs against the liberty of the common-wealth.

*Ordo*.—Sed is Piso, iter faciens in provinciam, occisus est ab equitibus Hispanis, quos ducabat in exercitu.

*In provinciam*] We are assured from other authors, that Piso was killed in Spain, and not upon the road leading to it.

6 *Barbaros*] The Spanish soldiers in his army.

7 *Ordo*.—Alii autem dicunt, equites illos, veteres & fidos clientes Cn. Pompeii, esse aggressos Pisonem voluntate ejus. *Equites*] Troopers.

*Cn. Pompeii veteres fidôsque clientes*] It is not probable, that Sallust calls these Spaniards here *clientes Pompeii*, in the common sense of the word, as if Pompey were their patron. The meaning rather is, that Pompey had attached

them to his interest by special favours. And such Cæsar, 1. civ. cap. lxxv. calls *beneficarii*. See cap. xxxi. n. 6.

8 *Ejus*] Scil. Pompey.

*Numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse*] This is not an apology for the murder of Piso, but rather seems to be a denial of the fact. As if he had said, it is affirm'd, that the Spanish soldiers killed Piso; some believing, their resentment to proceed from his own cruelty and ill treatment of them, others charging it to the orders of Pompey; but many deny, on the contrary, that the Spaniards were concerned at all in the affair.

10 *In medio*] We assert nothing positive; but leave every one to judge, as he pleases.—*Medium* signifies, in a proper sense, the middle of any thing.

XX. Catiline's speech to the conspirators in the assembly, mentioned in Chap. XVII.

1 *Ordo*.—Catilina, ubi videt eos, quos memoravi paulo ante, convenisse; tamen cum singulis multa sæpe egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos & cohortari eos, secessit in abditam partem ædium; atque habuit ibi hujuscemodi orationem, arbitris omnibus amotis procul.

4 *Omnibus arbitris*] In the utmost privacy, without a possibility of being overheard. *Arbiter* signifies a person, to whose judgment or opinion any matter is referred.



habuit. *Ni virtus fidesque vestra satis spectata mihi foret, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset, spes magna dominationis in manibus frustra fuisset; neque, per ignaviam aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem: sed, quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidesque mihi, et animus ausus est maximum atque pulcherrimum facinus incipere; simul, quia vobis eadem, quæ mihi, bona malæque intellexi: nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed, ego quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audistis. Ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsos vindicamus in libertatem. Nam, postquam respublica in paucorum potentium jus atque ditionem concessit, semper illis reges, tetrarchæ, vectigales esse; populi, nationes, stipendia pendere: ceteri omnes, strenui, boni, nobiles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratiâ, sine auctoritate; his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, bonos, divitiæ, apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reliquere, pericula,*

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1 *Ordo.*—*Ni virtus & fides vestra foret spectata satis mihi opportuna, res, cecidisset nequidquam, et spes magna dominationis fuisset frustra in manibus nostris; neque captarem incerta pro certis, per ignaviam, aut per ingenia vana.*

*Ni virtus fidesque*] It will be necessary to observe, that this Speech of Catiline, is perfectly conformable to the rules of rhetoric, having all the requisite members of a regular oration. The words, *Ni virtus fidesque*, constitute the Exordium or opening. The words, *Sed, ego* the Narration, or subject matter. *Quæ quousque*, the Proposition, or animating part. *Verum enimvero*, the Confirmation, or inducement. *Etenim quis mortalium*, the Refutation, or instance proposed, to corroborate what has been said.

*Spektata*] From *specio*, which (among other things) signifies *to prove*.

3 *Ignaviam*] From *in non*, & *navus*, or *gnovus*, expert, diligent.

4 *Tempestatibus*] Here signifies dangers, or important occasions.

5 *Pulcherrimum*] Such is the beauty of goodness, that even the most profligate traitors conceal their detestable crimes under the veil of virtue.

6 *Ordo.*—*Animus meus ausus est incipere, simul: quia intellexi eadem vobis esse bona & mala, quæ bona malæque mihi sunt Romæ.*

7 *Amicitia*] This is false, where the

inclinations are wicked; for true friendship can never subsist, but between good and virtuous men.

8 *Ordo.*—*Sed vos omnes audistis jam antea diversi ea, quæ ego agitavi mente.*

11 *Paucorum*] The powerful few: potentium subintel.

12 *Tetrarchæ*] Gr. those who governed the fourth part of a province.

*Vestigales*] Tributary. *Vestigal*, in its original meaning, signifies a tribute imposed on a conquered nation.

*Populi, nationes*] *Natio* denotes a whole country or province; *populus*, a city or state regulated by the same laws: so that *natio* is a word of a more extensive signification, and may include several *populi*; as *natio Tentenum* comprehends the *populi* called *Alemanni*, *Bavari* & *Saxones*.

*Stipendia*] Taxes.

13 *Pendere*] Paid, taken from the ancient Romans method of paying by weight of metal, before they had coined money.

14 *Gratiâ*] Popularity, Interest.

*Auctoritate*] Places of authority in the state

*Obnoxii*] Properly one, who stands in awe of another, on account of some crime (*noxæ*) committed against him; but frequently taken at large, for any subjection whatever.

repulſas,



*repulsas, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissimum viri? nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quam vitam miseram atque inbonestam, ubi alienæ superbæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verum enimvero (pro deum atque hominum fidem!) victoria nobis in manu est: viget ætas, animus valet; contra illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt: tantummodo incepto opus est; cetera res expedit. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest, illis divitias superare, quas profundant in exstruendo mari et montibus coæquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse; illos binas aut amplius domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? cum tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt, alia ædificant; postremo omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant; tamen summâ lubricine divitias suas vincere nequeunt: at nobis, domi inopia, foris æs alienum; mala res, spes multo asperior: denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optastis, libertas! præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria, in oculis sita sunt: fortuna ea omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quam oratio mea, vos hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite, me utimini: neque animus, neque corpus à vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum unâ consul agam; nisi fortè me animus fallit, et vos servire magis quam imperare parati estis.*

XXI. Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala abundè omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona ulla; tametsi illis quietæ movere magna merces videbatur, tamen postulare plerique, uti proponeret, 'quæ conditio belli foret, quæ præmia armis peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent.' Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem

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8 *Extruendo*] In raising edifices, which project into the sea: properly, building out the sea; that is, building so far in the sea, as to contract its bounds, and keep it farther out from the land.

10 *Domos continuare*] To add house to house.

*Larem familiarem*] The *Lares* were little images placed over the chimneys, representing those Deities, who presided over their hearths: here the *Lares* are put for the house itself.

11 *Toreumata*] Utensils or vessels, made by a turner; any kind of turned work.

12 *Vexant*] And prodigally throw it away.

13 *Inopia*] Ab, in, non, & ops vel opes.

15 *Quin igitur expergiscimini*] Peroratio.

XXI. Occurrences in the meeting, after Catiline's speech.

1 *Accepere*] Heard, i. e. received with their ears.

5 *Ubique*] Every where, or in every instance.

*Tabulas novas*] An abolition of debts, in the English phrase, an act of grace. In the

proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia, quæ bellum atque libido victorum fert: præterea, esse in Hispaniâ citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritaniâ cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes; petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum; cum eo consulem se initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis bonos; suorum unumquemque nominans, laudare; admonere, alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominie; multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat. Postquam omnium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent, conventum dimisit.

XXII. Fuere eâ tempestate qui dicerent, Catilinam oratione habitâ, cum ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse; indè, cum post execrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum; atque eò dictitare fecisse, quò inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli

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the early ages accounts were written on tables covered with wax, with an instrument called *Stylus*, from whence our expression of style in writing.

1 *Proscriptionem*] Signifies, in a literal sense, a posting or advertising any thing for public sale; but here it means condemnation and banishment: Catiline promises, that the rich should be banished, to give his party hopes of sharing their goods and estates, which he intended to confiscate.

*Sacerdotia*] Rich benefices.

3 *Mauritaniâ*] Geographers mention two countries of this name, one called Tingitani, and the other Cæsariensis, from the colonies of Tingi and Cæsarea: it comprehends the kingdoms of Algiers and Fez, in Barbary.

*Nucerinum*] His father was born in the town of Nuceria in Italy, and hence the son got this surname.

5 *Collegam*] From *con*, and *lega*; persons chosen to assist each other, as partners in an office, were called colleagues.

XXII. An extraordinary ceremony, used by Catiline to secure the conspiracy.

1 *Ordo*.—Nonnulli eâ tempestate qui dicerent, *Catilinam*, habita oratione, circumtulisse sanguinem corporis humani

permixtum vino in pateris, cum adigeret ad jusjurandum populares sceleris sui.

3 *Sanguinem*] A form, taken from the Scythian custom of making alliances.

*Vino permixtum*] The antients called this kind of potion, *assratum*.

*Indè, cum*] The conspirators, with *Catiline*, all tasted the blood and wine mixed, with an imprecation, that their blood, might be drunk in like manner, if they shrunk from their design, or ever betrayed the secret. This ceremony was usual, in treaties or conventions between princes: a beast was sacrificed, and the blood drunk, with a severe curse on that party, which should first break faith.

4 *Post execrationem*] *Execratio* was the pronouncing of a solemn oath, wherein they bound themselves, under heavy imprecations and curses, to secrecy and mutual fidelity.

6 *Alius alii*] Adjective, quibus commodum aut in commodum, similitudo aut relatio ad aliquid significatur, in dativum transeunt.

*Ordo*.—Nonnulli existimabant & hæc, & præterea multa alia esse ficta ab iis, qui credebant invidiam Ciceronis, quæ est orta postea, leniri atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui dederant poenas.

ficta

ficta et hæc, et multa præterea, existumabant ab iis; qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant: nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum comperta est.

XXIII. Sed in eâ conjuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus coopertus, quem censores senatu probri gratiâ amoverant: huic homini non minor vanitas inerat, quàm audacia; neque reticere quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare; prorsus, neque dicere, neque facere, quicquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulviâ, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cùm minùs gratus esset, quòd inopiâ minùs largiri poterat, repentè glorians maria montesque polliceri cœpit; minari interdum ferro, nî sibi obnoxia foret; postremò ferociùs agitare, quàm solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiae Curii causâ cognitâ, tale periculum rei publicæ haud occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ con-

## N O T Æ.

1 *Ciceronis invidiam*] The envy and hatred incurred by Cicero, who first opened the conspiracy in the senate.

XXIII. *First discovery of the plot.*

2 *Censores*] Two officers annually chosen, to inspect the morals of the people. These were persons of the highest dignity in the State: their station was reckoned more honourable, than even that of the Consuls themselves. Every fifth year they made a survey of the people; and took an account of the estates and goods of every person, their name, their wife's name, the names, number, and age of their children: and this was called *censum agere*, or *censum habere*. The other part of their office was the censure of manners.

They had power to punish an immorality in any person, of what rank soever. The word *notare*, not *punire*, was used to denote the exercise of their discipline; and the punishment or censure was called *ignominia*, not *pœna*. A Senator they could degrade, and *expel the house*; which was done, by striking his name out of the rolls. The Equites they punished, by *taking away the horse* allowed them at the public charge. The Commons they might either *remove* from a higher tribe to a less honourable; or quite *disable* them to give their votes in the assemblies, by erasing their name out of the *Album*, i. e. the register or

roll belonging to their century. These several ways of punishing were shortly expressed in Latin thus, *Senatu ejicere, equum adimere, tribu movere, in Censuram tabulas referre*. The *Cerites* were the people of *Cære*, a town in *Etruria*, who, for their good services to the Romans in the Gallick war, were honoured with the freedom of the city, but without the right of voting at the elections. When any citizen was deprived of his right of voting by the Censors, his name, was struck out of the rolls of his own century, and entered in the *Tabulæ* or *Register* of the *Cerites*. Hence the proverb, *Cerite cerâ digni*, Hor. I. *epist.* vi. v. 62. of those, that deserve to be censured, and lose their privilege.

The Censors, after the quinquennial survey, made an expiatory sacrifice in a very solemn manner, in the name of all the people. It consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it got the name of *juovetaurilia*: and this ceremony they called *lustrum condere*; and hence *lustrum* came to signify the space of five years.

3 *Vanitas*] Vanity, emptiness, weakness of understanding.

4 *Audacia*] From *audeo*, to dare.

8 *Maria montesque polliceri*] A proverbial expression, signifying things of immense value.

juratione



juratione quæ quo modo audierat compluribus narravit. Ea res inprimis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni: namque antea pleraque nobilitas invidiâ æstuabat; et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum (quamvis egregius) homo novus adeptus foret: sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia post fuere.

XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis, consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius; quod factum primò populares conjurationis concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam, suâ aut amicorum fide sumtam mutuam, Fæfulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Eâ tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur: mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentis sumtus stupro corporis toleraverant; post, ubi ætas tantummodo quæstui neque luxuriæ modum fecerat, æs alienum grande

## N O T Æ.

3 *Æstuabat*] From *Æstus*, a boiling or suffocating heat.

4 *Egregius*] Quasi ex grege, extraordinary, not common.

*Homo novus*] A man of no family, of mean origin.

XXIV. Measures taken by Catiline, on the election of Cicero.

1 *Comitiis*] Were general assemblies of the people, lawfully called by some magistrate, for the injunction, or prohibition, of any thing, by their votes. They were of three sorts; *Curiate*, *Centuriate*, and *Tribute*, referring to the three grand divisions of the people, into *Curie*, *Centuries* and *Tribes*. The *Comitia Curiate*, were so called from the division made by Romulus, of his people into 30 *Curie*, and answered to our city-parishes. The *Comitia Centuriata*, were instituted by Servius Tullius, who obliging every one, to give an account of what he was worth, divided the people in consequence, into ranks, or classes, which he sub-divided into 193 *Centuries*: The first contained, the knights and richest of the citizens; the second comprehended the shop-keepers, and artificers, which took up 22 *Centuries*; the third, the same number; the fourth 20; the fifth 30; and the last filled up with the poorer sort, made but one *Century*.

The division of the people into *Tribes*,

was an invention of *Romulus*, after he had admitted the *Sabines*, to the right of Roman citizens. At first, a *Tribe*, signified only, a certain spot of ground, with its inhabitants; but in process of time, it was taken for a number of citizens, living where they pleased. They enacted laws, relative to peace and war, and had votes in the election of magistrates.

1 *M. Tullius & C. Antonius*] M. Tullius Cicero was chosen almost unanimously, but Antony had but a small majority of *Catiline*.

2 *Populares*] Approvers, confidants.

4 *Amicorum fide*] His friends became surety for him. Sureties on such occasions were interrogated by the lender in a set form of words, to this purpose: *Centum à me Catilinæ tuâ fide credita esse jubes? Jubeo.*

5 *Fæfulas*] A small town of Tuscany, near Florence.

6 *Princeps fuit*] Sallust gives this *Manlius*, the epithet of *princeps*, merely on account of his personal courage, as we do not find him, any where, mentioned as a person of note. The author means not, that he was chief, or high in command, but only extremely vigilant and active, in the department assigned him.

9 *Neque*] And not.

*Æs alienum grande confaverant*] Had run themselves very much in debt; from



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grande conflaverant: per eas se Catilina credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi vel interficere.

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier, genere atque formâ, præterea viro atque liberis, fatis fortunata fuit; litteris Græcis et Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantius, quàm necesse est probæ; multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ sunt: sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit; pecuniæ an famæ minùs parceret, haud facilè decerneret; libido sic accensa, ut sæpius peteret viros, quàm peteretur: sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, crèditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuriâ atque inopiâ præceps abierat. Verum ingenium ejus haud absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel procaci: prorsus, multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilo minùs in proximum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facilè se ex voluntate Antonio usurum: neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni; neque illi tamen ad cavendum, dolus aut astutiæ deerant: namque à principio consulatûs sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius (de quo paullo antè memoravi,) consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet: ad hoc collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret; circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occultè habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, & Catilinæ neque petitio neque insidiæ quas Consuli fecerat, prosperè cessere; constituit bellum

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*con & flo*, to blow up, exaggerate, or inflame.

XXV. *Character of Sempronia.*

3 *Litteris Græcis atque Latinis*] She not only understood the Greek tongue, but was educated in the discipline, both of Greece and Rome, the most celebrated places for education, then in the world.

4 *Multa alia*] *Docta*, is to be understood here, on which *psallere* and *saltare* depend, for their construction.

11 *Vel molli, vel procaci*] *Mollis*, alluring; *Procax*, wanton.

XXVI. *Cicero's precaution.*

8 *Pactione provinciæ*] The senate always allotted two provinces for the new consuls, which they commonly divided by lot betwixt them. The consular provinces for this year were Macedonia and Gallia, and as Antonius was desirous of having Macedonia, Cicero to oblige him, and attach him firmly to his interest, generously gave him his choice, and accepted of Gallia.

11 *Quas Consuli fecerat*] It here seems that the disappointment Catiline met with at the election, had put him

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lum facere, & extrema omnia experiri; quoniam, quæ occultè tentaverat, aspera scèdâque evenerant.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæfulas atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Julium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium aliò, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri: consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent; dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremò, ubi multa agitantibus nihil procedit, rursus intempestâ nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam; ibique, multa de ignaviâ eorum questus, docet, *se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius Ciceronem oppressisset: eum suis consiliis multum officere.*

XXVIII. Igitur, perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, & cum eo L. Vargunteius senator, constituere eâ nocte paullò post cum armatis hominibus,

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upon the desperate resolution of cutting off Cicero, who had carried his point, and was preferred before him. By *campus* we are to understand, *campus Martius*, the place where the *comitia* were commonly held.

XXVI. Catiline's diligence to forward the plot.

1 *Etruriæ*] The great dutchy of Tuscany, lying N. E. of Rome.

2 *Camertem*] *Camers* a gentile or patril noun, derived from *Camerinum*, a town situated upon the confines of Umbria and Picenum.

*Agrum Picenum*] The territory of Picenum, beyond the Appennines, extending from those mountains, quite to the Adriatic sea; it is now called the marquisate of Ancona. *Ager*, commonly rendered *territory* or *district*, was a small province or little county, generally denominated from the metropolis or chief town in it. We meet with numbers of them in old Italy. They may be

compared to the *pagi* or *cantons* in Helvetia, and to the *civitates* or *states* in Gallia.

3 *Apuliam*] A country of Italy, lying on the Adriatic sea, in the kingdom of Naples, between Daunia and Calabria, now La Puglia.

6 *Cum telo esse*] This is old Latin, being the very words of the XII Tables, by which the wearing of swords or other weapons within the city, was forbid. The expression occurs again *cap. xlix.*

7 *Dies noctesque*] Denotes a continuation of time.

XXVIII. Plot against Cicero discovered.

3 *Eâ nocte paullò post*] The conspirators met in the dead of the night, and may be supposed to have spent two or three hours in conference; and therefore the time here pointed at, must be early in the morning, which was the time when the Consuls and other great men, had their *levée* or *salutatio*.

ficuti



sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improvîso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius, ubi intelligit quantum periculum consuli impendeat, properè per Fulviam, Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur, enunciat: ita illi, janua prohibiti, tantum facinus frustra susceperant. Interea Manlius in Etruriâ plebem sollicitare, egestate simul ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam quòd Sullæ dominatione agros bonæque omnia amiserat; præterea latrones cujusque generis, quorum in eâ regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus libido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis, nihil reliqui fecerant.

XXIX. Ea cùm Ciceroni nunciarentur; ancipiti malo permotus quod neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longiùs tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manlii quantus aut quo consilio foret satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam: itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Ea potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur; exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis; domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere: aliter, sinè populi jussu, nulli earum rerum Consuli jus est.

XXX. Post paucos dies L. Sæpius senator in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæstus allatas sibi dicebat; in quibus scriptum erat, 'C. Manlium arma cepisse cum magnâ multitudine, ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris:' simul (id, quod in tali re solet,) alii portenta atque prodigia nunciabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apuliâ servile bellum moveri. Igitur senati decreto Q. Marcius

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7 *Latrones nonnullus*] With both these words *sollicitare* is supposed to be connected. *Latrones* formerly signified life-guards, *quasi laterones*, from guarding the general's *sides Latera*.

XXIX. *Extraordinary decree of the senate.*

1 *Ancipiti*] Partly *within* the city from the schemes of Catiline; partly *without* it, from the army of Manlius.

4 *Volgi*] The old manner of spelling.

6 *Darent*] By this solemn form of words, never used, but when the republic was in great danger, from the at-

tempts of some aspiring, factious person, the dictatorial power was conferred on the consuls.

XXX. *Orders and decrees of the senate, on the insurrection at Fæstus.*

4 *Portenta atque prodigia*] Strange and unnatural appearances, which the Augurs affirmed, threatened some dreadful catastrophe to the state. *Portentum* is something that menaces evil, *prodigium* is a monstrous phenomenon, contrary to nature.

6 *Senati*] For *senatus*.

Rex Fæstulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque ea loca, missi; ii utrique ad urbem Imperatores erant impediti, ne triumpharent, calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat: sed prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; hisque permissum, uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent. Ad hoc, si quis indicavisset de conjuratione quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium, servo libertatem & sestertia centum, libero impunitatem ejus rei & sestertia ducenta. Item decrevere, uti gladiatoria familia Capuam & in cetera municipia distribuerentur, pro cuiusque opibus; Romæ per totam urbem vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent.

XXXI. Qui-

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2. *Ad urbem Imperatores erant*] i. e. *prope urbem*, for: when ever a General demanded a triumph, he was obliged to resign the command of his army; was not allowed to enter Rome, nor approach it but at a certain distance, until this honour had been granted or refused him, by the senate.

2. *Honestâ, atque inhonestâ*] Who extorted money by any means, or as we say in English, *by book or by crook*.

6 *Ordo*.—Ad hoc *Senatores* decreverunt præmium, si quis indicasset de conjuratione, quæ erat facta contra Rempublicam, servo libertatem, & centum sestertia & decreverunt libero impunitatem ejus rei, & ducenta millia sestertiorum.

8 *Sestertia*] *Sestertius*, H. S. C. This was the mark or character for a *Sestertium*. The *Sestertius* was different, and so called *quasi, Sesquitertius*, and was the fourth part of a *denarius*, or Roman penny, and was equal in value to two pounds and a half of brass, and hence in authors it is frequently denoted by LLS. (id est, *duæ libræ & semi*) or which is the same, and always represented by HS. or IIS. In numbering by *sestertii* the following rules are to be observed.

I. The *sestertium* (neut. gen.) contained a thousand *sestertii*, and is in value of our money about 7l. 16s. 3d. so that the reward here offered, of *sestertia centum*, amounts to 781l. 5s. and *sestertia ducenta* to 1562l. 10s. sterl.

II. If a numeral noun be joined with any of these words, it denotes precisely as many as the numeral expresses: thus *decem sestertii* is 10 *sestertii*, and *decem sestertia* is 10 *sestertia*, or 10,000 *sestertii*; and *decem sestertium* (for *sestertiorum*) denotes the same number.

III. If a numeral adverb be added, it raises the value 100 times, thus *decies sestertium* signifies ten hundred *sestertia*, or which is the same thing, ten hundred thousand *sestertii*.

9 *Ducenta Sestertia*] 1562l. 10s. sterl. *Gladiatoria familia*] The gladiators were a set of wretches, being mostly condemned persons, malefactors, captives, untoward slaves, or other ruffians, who were trained up by a *lanista* or fencing-master, on purpose to furnish diversion to the people on publick days, by engaging before them in mortal combats. Gladiators were first introduced by D. Junius Brutus, at his father's funeral, about the year of Rome 489. And this he did in imitation of the antient heathens, who imagined the ghosts of deceased persons were appeased, and rendered propitious by human blood. But as the Roman people were much pleased with these bloody entertainments, they were not long confined to funeral solemnities, but soon became common on almost all publick occasions. Every great man, to ingratiate himself with the people, would exhibit shows of gladiators, (*munera gladiatoria*.) Julius Cæsar in his *Ædileship* presented them with three hundred and twenty pair. Trajan the emperor, exhibited no less than a thousand pair. See a further account in Kennet, B. V. chap. iv.

10 *Distribuerentur*] There were vast numbers of gladiators at this time in Rome, and it was thought prudent to have them separated and dispersed, lest getting together in a body, they should join Catiline.

11 *Minores magistratus*] The Consuls, Prætors,

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies erat: ex summâ lætitiâ atque lasciviâ, quæ diuturna quies pepererat, repentè omnis tristitia invasit; festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere; suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus pro reipublicæ magnitudine belli timor insolitus incefferat, afflictare sese, manus supplices ad cælum tendere; miserari parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere; superbâ atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illâ movebat; tametsi præsidia parabantur, & ipse lege Plautiâ interrogatus ab L. Paulo. Postremò, dissimulandi causâ atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio laceffitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens seu irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ, quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed, ubi ille adfedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso vultu voce supplici postulare à Patribus, *ne quid de se temerè crederent; eâ familiâ ortum, ita ab adolescentiâ vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne æstumarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius atque majorum plurima beneficia*

## N O T Æ.

Prætors, and Censors were called *magistratus majores*, and all the rest were named *minores*, such as, the Ædiles, Quæstors, Tribunes, Triumvirs, &c.

XXXI. *Terror and alarm in the city with Catiline's behaviour in the senate.*

1 *Urbis*] *Roma*, for as the City in Greek Authors, generally signifies *Athens*; so by the same expression, in Latin is understood their capital city, if no other be immediately spoken of in the passage; there is a difference between *Urbis*, and *Civitas*. *Urbis* means the city, as opposed to the country, which we express by the word *town*. But *Civitas* signifies the city in a political sense, with respect to its privileges, and municipal establishment, and answers to what we express by the word *Corporation*, or Body Politic, of which the community is composed.

5 *Ad hoc*] Besides, moreover; besides the alarm among the men, the women were also seized with trepidation and horror.

9 *Præsidia*] Guards. *Subsidia*, *Præsidia* & *Vigilia*. *Subsidia*, are auxiliary forces, *præsidia*, garrisons placed in a town, *vigilia*, are extraordinary guards, called watch and ward, on a particular exigency.

10 *Lege Plautiâ*] This law took its rise from *L. Plautius*, tribune of the people, 15 years before Catiline's conspiracy. It ordained, that 'whoever should in any wise conspire against the Republick, or impugn the authority of her legal magistrates; the same should be interdicted the use of fire and water,' a sort of civil excommunication or outlawry, whereby the party became infamous; in the same manner as a person, who incurs a præmunire, by the laws of England.

11 *Sicuti jurgio laceffitus*] As if he had been unjustly accused. *Jurgium*, reproach, contention, abuse.

12 *Sive præsentiam*] Cicero was probably alarmed at Catiline's boldness in coming into the senate, lest his confidence might induce the Senators to think lightly of the information he had given them.

14 *Ubi ille*] Cicero.

16 *Eâ familiâ ortum*] Being himself of a noble family.

18 *Patricio homini*] Romulus divided his people, according to their honour and dignity, into Patricians and Plebeians. The Patricians, i. e. *patribus orti*, were persons of rank and quality, bore offices of state, assisted in the administration, and took care of religious rites. The Ple-



*beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perditâ republicâ opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus civis urbis Romæ. Ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare: tum ille furibundus, Quoniam quidem circumventus, inquit, ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruinâ restinguam.*

XXXII. Dein se ex curiâ domum proripuit. Ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quod neque insidiæ consuli procedebant, & ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optimum factu credens, exercitum augere;

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Plebeians or commons, were to plough the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades. Every Patrician took so many of the Plebeians under his protection, was their counsellor or adviser in difficult cases, their advocate in judgment, and on this account, was called their *Patron*, and they his *Clients*. On the other hand, the clients paid a great deference to their patrons, waited upon, served and assisted them, as they were required. On some pressing occasions, they furnished them with money, but this was rarely practised, as it was thought dishonourable for a patron, to take money of his client.

1. *Eam servaret*] Rempublicam.

*Inquilinus*] A stranger, being born at Arpinum. *Inquilinus*, properly means an inmate, or lodger, who lives in the house of another. *Incola*, a sojourner or inhabitant in general. *Civis*, a free citizen, one who has the right of Burghership.

3. *Parricidam*] A Parricide, is the murderer of a parent, or near relation; hence traitors and rebels are called Parricides, as conspiring against the life and safety of their mother country and common parent.

4. *Furibundus*] Valdè furens, furore abundans.

*Circumventus*] Catiline obstinately denies the charge of *high Treason* exhibited against him; and endeavours to asperse his accusers, with the imputation of a malicious and unjust plot against him. *Circumventus*, surrounded, from *circum* & *venio*.

5. *Præceps agor*] This image seems to be taken from the fury of a wild and dangerous beast, hunted to a precipice; who to escape the surrounding pack, ready to devour him, plunges himself headlong into destruction.

*Incendium meum ruinâ restinguam*] *Restinguam incendium meum ruinâ*, i. e. I will not be undone, without a suitable

revenge; but will involve you all in my own ruin, and so extinguish the hatred you have unjustly conceived against me. This is spoken figuratively, in allusion to the method of pulling down houses, to prevent the spreading of a fire. Catiline artfully suppressed the *adjective*, he would have understood with *ruinâ*; to conceal his purpose of general mischief, and to terrify particular persons. *Restinguo* is to quench or qualify, *extinguo* to put out intirely.

XXXII. Catiline's retreat from the city.

1. *Ex curiâ proripuit*] He rushed suddenly out of the Senate-house, from *pro* and *rapis*, to snatch with haste and indignation; *proripuit*, i. e. *se*.

2. *Quod neque insidiæ consuli*] Fulvia by discovering to Cicero the plot against his life, put a stop to that horrid act; ch. 29.

*Procedebant*] *Insidia*, signifies lying in wait, from *in* & *sedes*. *Procedo* is to go before, or issue from, *progradior* to proceed on, or renew any matter that has been suspended.

3. *Vigiliis*] Constant guards, to protect the city from being set on fire, by Catiline's accomplices, from *vigil*, a watchman.

*Munitam*] Secured, properly fenced or fortified.

*Optimum factu credens*] The first supine hath an active signification, and is put after Verbs or Participles that signify motion to a place, as *esse cubitum*, but the latter supine is always applied passively, as in this passage, and is used after an adjective. *Credo* comes either from *Kapla-car*, or from *αἰνῶν matusdo*. *Optimum factu*, best to be done; properly, best in fact, for, what Grammarians call supines, are really the accusative and ablative cases, of verbal substantives of the 4th declension.

*Exercitum*] From *Exerceo*; quia scilicet



\* augere; ac prius, quam legiones scriberentur, antecapere quæ bello 'usui forent;' nocte intempestâ cum paucis, in Manliana castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, ceterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, cædem incendia aliæque belli facinora parent: 'se se propediem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.' Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodî.

XXXIII. Deos hominésque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuriâ tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentiâ at-

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scilicet frequenti exercitatione ad disciplinam formatur.

1 *Legiones*] The forces of the Republic, so named in opposition to the Rebel army, called here *exercitum*. A legion was a body of men, consisting of 10 cohorts or companies, making (in the whole) 3000, as instituted by Romulus: After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented to 4000; in the Punic war, to 5000, and was increased by Scipio, on his expedition against Carthage to 6000 men. *Legiones Scribere*, was in fact, the same as our modern method, of pressing men into the service. Their names were entered or enrolled in a book, from whence they were said to be *scripti* or *descripti*, that is, having their names wrote down, together with the corps, in which they were obliged to serve.

*Antecapere*] To prepare and secure in time, to take, before the consuls did.

2 *Intempestâ*] At the dead hour of the night; properly at an unseasonable time of night.

*Castra*] *Castrum*, (properly a castle or fortress) is derived from *Casa*, quasi casarum structura. *Castra*, in the Plural number, a *Camp*; i. e. a multitude of *Tents*, surrounded with some kind of defence.

*Profectus*] *Es, vado, proficiscor, progredier*. *Es*, is to go in any manner, *vado*, to go on foot, *proficiscor* to set out, being before in a state of rest, *progredior*, to renew a journey that had been suspended.

*Cethego atque Lentulo*] See chap. 17.

4 *Promptam*] Ready. *Promo* signifies to draw, i. e. Liquor out of a cask or jar, and *Promptus*, liquor drawn, and so ready for use: hence *Promptus* is applied

to any thing that is in readiness. *Promo*, to draw or bring forth for use, what was laid up in store: *Haurio*, to draw or take to private use, and properly part of what lies in common; whence *haurire aquam* to draw or take water, as out of a river or well. *Haurio*, signifies also to consume, devour, or take all; as *haurire poculum*, to empty the cup, by drinking all the liquor: whence arises a second distinction, *promo* signifying to take or bring out, *haurio* to take or draw in.

4 *Opes*] In the singular number help, in the plural, abilities, strength, power and wealth.

5 *Incendit*] *Incendium*, destruction by fire, *ignis*, fire itself.

6 *Prope diem*] In a short time, near that day.

7 *Ex suo numero*] *Legatus*, in negotiations, is an ambassador, but in military affairs, signifies one who commands the army, in the absence of the general.

8 *Ad Marcium Regem*] He was sent as general to *Fasula*. See chap. 31.

XXXIII. Transactions without the city, in 3 Chapters; beginning with Manlius's letter to Marcus Rex, apologizing for the insurrection, and demanding redress of grievances.

1 *Testamur*] *Testor* is to call to witness, to adjure, *attestor* to affirm or swear, *obtestor* to beseech, *detestor* to hate or abhor.

*Imperator*] General, for he had the command of one part of the army, raised against the conspirators.

2 *Quo periculum*] Whereby, or to the end that we might bring danger on others.

3 *Qui*] This relative takes its force in the 1st person, from its antecedent *Nos*; nos arma neque. See.

que crudelitate fœneratorum, plerique patriâ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis, expertes sumus; neque cuiquam nostrum licuit, more majorum lege uti, neque amisso patrimonio liberum corpus habere: tanta sævitia fœneratorum atque prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores vestrum, miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ opitulati sunt; ac novissimè memoriâ nostrâ, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est: sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota aut superbiâ magistratum, armata à patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causâ bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum animâ simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas Prætoris eripuit, restituatis; neve eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus quonam modo (ulti maxumè sanguinem nostrum,) pereamus.

XXXIV. Ad

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1 *Fœneratorum*] *Fœnerator* is properly a pawn-broker, who lends money on pledges, *Fœnus* is the money paid to such a person, *Usura* is common interest for money.

2 *Expertes*] From *ex* and *pars*, having no share or part in, or of.

3 *Lege uti*] To enjoy the benefit of the law, *Papiriâ*, Scil. 26. This law ordained that Usurers should not have the power of imprisoning a citizen, or otherwise molesting him. *Lex* is derived either from *lege*, because the law should be publicly read and known to all; or from *ligo*, quoniam ab eâ unus quisque ligatur vel obligatur.

The word *lex* has several meanings, first it may be taken, for a liberty or impunity of doing any act. Secondly, for an agreement or condition. Thirdly, for a certain rule or form, by which any thing is either enjoined or prohibited, by publick and lawful authority. In whatever sense it is used, it always implies, a just and equitable regulation, whereby private liberty and partial convenience, are forced to submit to the general good.

*Patrimonium*] From *pater* and *monco*, a monument of paternal love, an estate or fortune left by a father.

*Liberum corpus*] The laws of the XII. Tables allowed creditors a very extensive power over even the persons of their debtors, so that they could imprison them, beat them, and every way used them as slaves. These hardships had been several times and several ways mitigated: But they pretend here

that they had not enjoyed, or could not obtain the benefit of these mitigations.

7 *Argentum ære solutum*] Some commentators take *argentum* in general for *debitum*, and *ære* for *ævarium*: The meaning of which is, that the private debts of these poor people, were ordered to be paid out of the publick treasury. Some again take the words to import, that brâs was made to pass in payment for silver, weight for weight. But others, with more probability, think that there is here an allusion to the two coins, *as* and *sestertius*, and imagine that the discount allowed by the government was such, that a creditor, to whom a *sestertius* (which was a silver coin) was due, should be obliged to discharge his debtors, upon receiving an *as*, which was a brâs coin, and of far less value: And that the same proportion of discount was to be observed in greater sums.

8 *Superbiâ magistratum*] The tribunes of the people.

*Armata à patribus secessit*] Retreatted to mount Aventine and the Janiculum, on account of the dissensions between them and the senate.

9 *At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus*] Alluding to dominandi studio, & inopia.

10 *Libertatem*] *Petimus*.

12 *Consulatis*] i. e. ut Consulatis.

13 *Ordo*.—Ut quæramus quonam modo, pereamus; ulti maxumè sanguinem nostrum. That is, lay us not under the fatal necessity of enquiring how we should perish, best revenging our own blood.

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius. Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur: eâ mansuetudine atque misericordiâ senatum populûmque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit. At Catilina ex itinere ple-  
risque Consularibus, præterea optumo cuique, litteras mittit: se, falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequi-  
verit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci; non quò sibi tanti sceleris conscius esset, sed uti respublica quieta foret, neve ex suâ contentione seditio oriretur. Ab his longè diversas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat: ea-  
rum exemplum infra scriptum est.

L. Catilina Q. Catulo S.

XXXV. Egregia tua fides, re cognita, gratam in magnis periculis fidu-  
ciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo con-  
silio non statui parare: satisfactionem ex nullâ conscientiâ de culpâ pro-  
ponere decrevi, quam (me Dius fidius) veram licet cognoscas. Inju-  
riis contumeliisque concitatus, quòd fructu laboris industriæque meæ  
privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caus-  
sam pro meâ consuetudine suscepi: non quia æs alienum meis nominibus  
ex possessionibus solvere possem, cum alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ  
suis filiaëque copiis persolveret; sed, quod non dignos homines honore ho-  
nestatos videbam, meque falsâ suspitione alienatum sentiebam: hoc no-

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XXXIV. Marcius's answer, Catiline's circular Letter of Apology.

4 Petiverit] Third person, præterper-  
fessè tense, optative mood.

7 Massiliam] An ancient city of Gallia Narbonensis, founded by the Phocians; now called Marseilles, in the South-East part of France, on the Mediterranean sea.

8 Neve ex sua contentione seditio oriretur] He offers to banish himself, rather than disturb the commonwealth any farther.

9 Diversas Litteras] Littera in the singular number, signifies a letter of the alphabet, in the plural, it always means an epistle.

11 Exemplum] A copy.

XXXV. Catiline's letter to Catulus, glossing his own conduct, and recommending Orestilla to his care. He joins the army: Decrees of the Senate thereupon.

2 In novo consilio] See chap. 31st.

3 Satisfaction] A satisfactory rea-  
son.

Conscientiâ] From con & scia.

Proponere] To lay before you.

4 Dius fidius] Dius is the same as Deus, and Dius fidius the same as Deus fidei, the God of honour, i. e. Hercules.

6 Statum dignitatis non obtinebam] See chap. 16.

Miserorum] Profligates, very much in debt, like himself.

7 Meis nominibus] On my own proper account.

8 Alienis nominibus] Money, for which his friends were security.

9 Persolveret] Solvo signifies to pay, either in the whole or in part; persolvere, is to pay or discharge entirely.

Non dignos homines] Meaning Cicero the consul, and those of his party.

10 Alienatum] Disgraced, become sus-  
pected.



*mine satis honestas pro meo casu spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cùm scribere vellem, nunciatum est, mihi vim parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuatque fidei trado: eam ab injuriâ defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus.*

HAVE TO.

XXXVI. Sed ipse, paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam in agro Arretino, dum vicinatem, antea sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta sunt; senatus Catilinam & Manlium hostes judicat; ceteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab armis discedere, præter rerum capitalium condemnatis: præterea decernit, uti consules *delectum* habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit. Eâ tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multo maxumè miserabile visum est; cui, cùm ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis paterent; domi otium atque divitiæ, (quæ prima mortales putant,) adfluerent, fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent: namque duobus senati decretis, ex tantâ multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque

*hostens his* **NOTÆ.** *a diffidence*

1 *Pro meo casu*] In my situation.

4 *Defendas*] From *de* and *fendo*, Verb. inquit: Arceo, protego. Shakspeare uses the words *Heaven forefend*, that is, Heaven forbid. *Offendo* to strike against, from *ob* & *fendo*.

5 *Ordo*.—Have to, rogatus per tuos liberos ut defendas eam ab injuriâ.

*Have to*] More Antiquo pro Valet.

XXXVI. *The corrupt and abandoned state of the city, at the time of this conspiracy: Four chapters, beginning with a remark on the decrees of the senate, and the cause of such universal depravity.*

2 *Arretino*] *Hodiè Arreti*, a city of the Sabines, to the northward of Rome.—The birth placè of *Petro Arretino*, a famous painter, in the 15th century.

3 *Aliis imperii insignibus*] Scil. Aquilâ Argentea trabea, securibus, & prætexta.

*Ad Manlium*] Scil. in Etruriâ.

7 *Antonius*] C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in the consulate.

10 *Ad occasum ab ortu Solis*] From east to west, every where, all over the Roman dominions.

10 *Omnia domita*] The power and dominions of the Republick were very extensive, at this period. We find that Pompey had been employed on an expedition to the east, in which he had spent five years, and returned a twelvemonth after this conspiracy. In that time he had conquered 12 kingdoms, and 800 cities. He added Armenia, Judæa and Pontus to the Roman empire. The Romans at this time, were masters of all Italy, Spain, Gaul and Germany, as far as the Baltic sea, together with the Mediterranean islands, in Europe; and in Asia, they had Syria, Palestine, and part of Arabia about Mount Libanus.

12 *Obstinatis animis perditum irent*] Went to destroy the common-wealth, with the most perverse malice. *Perditum*, 1st supine.

13 *Ordo*.—Namque ex tantâ multitudine, quisquam omnium inductus duobus decretis senati, neque præmio, conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ discesserat, tanta vis morbi invaserat plerosque animos civium, uti tabes.



ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

XXXVII. Neque solùm illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii conjurationis fuerant; sed omnino cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeò more suo videbatur facere: nam semper in civitate, quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turbâ atque seditionibus sine curâ aluntur, quoniam egestas facilè habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea verò præceps ierat multis de causis. Primum omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxumè præstabant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissis; postremò omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat; ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluerant. Deinde multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, (quòd ex gregariis militibus, alios senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent,) sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoriâ talia sperabant. Præterea juvenus, quæ in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerant: eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quo minùs mirandum est, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxumâ spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Præterea quorum, (victoriâ Sullæ,) parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sanè alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quàm minùs valere ipsi, malebant.

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2 *Animos*] *Animus* is used for inclination, *mens* for understanding or sentiment.

*Invaserat*] *Invado*, *occupo*, *introeo*. *Invado*, is to enter into, or seize, in a forcible manner; *occupo*, to enjoy or possess; *introeo*, to enter, or come into, peaceably and without violence.

XXXVII. *Five causes of the corruption among the common people of Rome.*

3 *Ordo*.—Nam ii, quibus nullæ opes sunt, invident semper in civitate bonis.

10 *Flagitium aut facinus*] *Flagitium*, signifies a crime, or villainous action, *Facinus* is a great or daring enterprize, whether good or bad.

11 *Sentinam*] *Sentina*, properly signifies the pump of a ship, which being generally very foul, is here likened to a common sewer. They ran (says he) to Rome, in

crowds, as dirt into a sink, a good comparison for the vicious, or factious part of the rabble.

*Sullanæ victoriæ*] That is, of the licentiousness introduced by Sylla, among all ranks of people.

13 *Victu atque cultu*] *Victus*, mode of living in diet, *cultus* relates to education, and the ornaments of dress.

17 *Quo minùs mirandum, homines egentis, &c.*] Wherefore it is less to be wondered, that persons of indigent circumstances, bad morals and high expectations, should have consulted the interest of the public, just as they did their own.

20 *Imminutum*] Alluding to Sylla, who took away the right of the children of banished persons, and forbade their claim to the effects of their parents.

21 *Atque*] Than.

F 2

XXXVIII. Id

XXXVIII. Id adeò malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat. Nam, postquam Cn. Pompeio & M. Crasso consulibus tribunitia potestas restituta, homines adolescentes, summam potestatem nacti, quibus ætas animusque ferox, cœpère senatum criminando plebem exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari potentésque fieri: contra eos summâ ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie pro suâ magnitudine. Namque (uti paucis absolvam,) per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavère, honestis nominibus, (alii, sicuti Populi jura defenderent; pars, quò senati auctoritas maxuma foret,) bonum publicum simulantes, pro suâ quisque potentiâ certabant; neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

XXXIX. Sed, postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus est; plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit: hi, magistratus, provincias, aliâque omnia tenere: ipsi, innoxii, florescentes, sine metu ætatem agere; ceterosque judiciis terrere, quò plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent. Sed, ubi primùm dubiis

rebus

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XXXVIII. *The rise and support of the two great factions in Rome.*

1 *Post annos*] 24 years, for the power of the tribunes was taken away by Sylla, when he was consul *A. U. C.* 666, and the conspiracy of Catiline happened in 690.

2 *Tribunitia potestas*] Tribunes were magistrates, elected from the body of the commons, in order to be a check on the power of the senate. A dispute between the Nobles and Plebeians in the consulate of Appius Claudius, *A. U. C.* 260, first gave occasion to erect this office. Sylla, the better to establish his tyranny, almost annihilated the power of the tribunes, which on some occasions, proved indeed very troublesome, leaving them nothing but the right of making remonstrances to the senate in favour of the people, whereas before, they might stop the execution of any decree of the senate, by the single word *Veto*. Pompey when he was elected consul with Crassus, *A. U. C.* 682, restored the power of the tribunes, to ingratiate himself with the people, tho' he sorely repented of it after.

3 *Adolescentes summam potestatem nacti*] He means Caius Cornelius, who being afterwards guilty of treason, was defended by Cicero and Rullus, who endea-

voured to bring in the Agrarian law, in the consulate of Cicero.

7 *Specie*] Under pretence, *Species* properly signifies a particular sort or kind of any thing.

8 *Ordo*.—Nam uti absolvam paucis (verbis) quicumque, agitavère rempublicam per illa tempora, (fecère) honestis nominibus, (alii, sicuti defenderent jura populi; pars, quò, auctoritas Senati, foret maxuma) quisque certabant pro suâ potentiâ, simulantes publicum bonum.

*Honestis nominibus*] Under plausible pretences.

9 *Alii*] Some.

*Pars*] Others.

XXXIX. *The depravity of the Great.*

1 *Ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum*] Against the Cilicians, who were assisted by Mithridates, King of Pontus. Cilicia, is a maritime province of Asia. Pontus, a country near the Euxine, or Black sea, now a part of Crim Tartary. This was called the war against the Pirates.

3 *Provincias*] The government of kingdoms, conquered by the Romans.

4 *Quò plebem in magistratu*] *Tractare plebem placidius*, signifies to manage

rebus novandis spes oblata est, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexerat: quod, si primo prælio Catilina superior aut æquâ manu discessisset, profectò magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent, diutius eâ uti licuisset; quin defessis & exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt; in his A. Fulvius senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit.

XL. Iisdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortunâ novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solum cives, sed cujuscumque modi genus hominum, quod modò usui bello foret: igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, 'uti legatos Allobrogum requirat, eosque si possit, impellat ad societatem belli;' existumans publicè privatimque ære alieno oppressos, præterea, (quod naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset,) faciliè eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus,

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nage the people in a more gentle or pacifick manner, so as not to incense them against the nobility. And the meaning of the whole sentence is, that as the few grandes, who had engrossed the publick management, looked upon the Tribunes of the commons as the only persons who formerly did, or now could thwart their designs, and give a check to their growing power by exasperating the people against them, so they took care to make their resentment fall heavy upon all the Tribunes, when out of office, who had exerted themselves that way, and upon all others too, who discovered a spirit of this nature; to the end that no person, upon his being made a Tribune of the commons, might dare, for the future, to make any attempts of this kind, or oppose their measures by spiriting up the people against them. See Jug. cap. xxvii. n. 1.

1 *Dubis rebus novandis*] Stirring up fresh seditions. They are called *dubie*, because no one can tell their consequences, or whose the power shall be.

*Vetus certamen*] Between the senate and people.

*Eorum*] The few leading men.

3 *Profectò*] Adverb. Doubtless.

*Ordo*.—Neque licuisset illis, qui forent adepti victoriam, uti ea diutius: quin *ille*, qui plus posset, extorquerent

imperium atque libertatem defessis & exsanguibus.

4 *Adepti*] Forent.

*Defessis & exsanguibus*] Wearied and spent.

5 *Imperium atque libertatem extorqueret*] From the Nobles, and from the people. The necessary consequences of anarchy.

6 *Extra conjurationem*] Out of, not concerned in.

8 *Necari jussit*] The authority of parents over their children, extended to a power of life and death.—Abolished by the Christian emperors.

XL. Confirmation of the discovery of the plot.—8 Chapters beginning with the attempt on the ambassadors of Savoy.

3 *Sollicitabat*] From *solus* & *cito*.

5 *Dat*] Lentulus.

*Allobrogum*] The Allobroges inhabited that part of Italy, now called Savoy, and the state of Geneva.

6 *Publicè privatimque*] On account of the annual tribute, laid on them by the Romans, as well as their private debts.

7 *Gens*] A nation or people, but in a strict sense, means the various inhabitants of a large country, comprehending different nations, as Italy, wherein were Romans, Etrurians, Volsci, Fidenates and others.

quod

quòd in Galliâ negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatem notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine morâ, ubi primùm legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, & quasi dolens ejus, civitatis casum requirere cœpit, *quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?* Postquam illos videt *queri de avaritiâ magistratuum, accusare senatum quòd in eo auxilii nihil esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare; at ego,* (inquit,) *vobis, si modò viri esse vultis, rationem ostendam, quâ tanta ista mala effugiatis.* Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges in maxumam spem adducti Umbrenum orare, uti sui miseretur; ‘nihil ‘tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quin cupidissimè facturi essent, ‘dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret.’ Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quòd foro propinqua erat, neque aliena consilii propter Semproniam, nam tum Brutus ab Româ aberat; præterea Gabinium arcessit, quo major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsentem conjurationem aperit, nominat socios, præterea multos cujusque generis innoxios, quòd legatis animus amplior esset; dein eos, pollicitos operam suam, dimittit.

## N O T Æ.

1 *Gallia*] The country of Gaul, comprehending several provinces, not now belonging to modern France. In Gaul, was reckoned that part of Italy, now called the Milanese, with Savoy, Piemont, and the Netherlands. The whole country was divided into Celtic, Belgic, and Aquitanic. Celtic Gaul included the provinces of Languedoc, Provence, Dauphinè, Burgundy, Champagne, and some others adjacent. The Belgic, all Flanders, and the dutchy of Brabant; and the Aquitanic, that part of France lying between the river Loire, and the borders of Spain.

*Principibus*] The nobility, or chief persons of the country.

2 *In foro*] The *Ferum* began at the bottom of the rock, on which the Capitol was built, and extended in length as far as the church of Santa Maria Nova. In breadth, from the bottom of Mount Palatine, to the Via Sacra.

3 *Conspexit*] *Conspicio*, is to look earnestly, to consider a person with attention. *Aspicio*, to perceive or barely behold. *Videò*, to see an object in general, or have the use of one's eyes

*Percunctatus*] *Percunctor* is to enquire strictly,

*De Statu Civitatis*] Of the condition of their state.

5 *Magistratum*] The governors sent from Rome.

*Senatum*] Of Rome.

6 *Remedium*] Compounded of *re*, and *medior* to heal, *Unde medicus*.

7 *Expectare*] *Expecto*, is to look out, from *ex* & *specio*.

*Ego*] Lentulus]

*Rationem*] A way or method.

9 *Sui*] Them.

10 *Quin*] Quod non.

11 *Ille*] Lentulus.

12 *Perducit*] *Perduco* is to lead a person, as it were by the hand, to conduct all the way, with earnest persuasion.

*Neque aliena*] Because Sempronia, the wife of Brutus was acquainted with the conspiracy. *Neque aliena*, not averse, well affected; for a character of this lady, see chap. 26.

13 *Ab Româ aberat*] Perhaps out of policy.

*Gabinium*] One of the conspirators. He had formerly been tribune of the people.

15 *Aperit*] From *ad* & *appareo*.

16 *Innoxios*] Not concerned in the plot.

*Animus*] Inclination.



XLII. Sed Allobroges diu in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent: in alterâ parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ; at in alterâ majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incertâ spe certa præmia: hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam consilio cognito, legatis præcepit, studium conjurationis vehementer simulent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quam maxumè manifestos habeant.

XLII. Iisdem ferè temporibus in Galliâ citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia motus erat: namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsultè ac veluti per dementia cuncta simul agere; nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quàm periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer prætor, ex senati consultu, causâ cognitâ, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Galliâ C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

## N O T Æ.

XLII. *Discovery of the ambassadors.*

1 *Quidnam consilii*] Nomina partitiva aut partitive posita genitivum postulant, as *utrum horum*.

2 *In altera parte*] On one side, i. e. of their uncertainty.

3 *In altera*] Subint. parte.

*Opes*] Of the Roman state.

*Pro incerta spe*] Of bettering their condition.

4 *Certa præmia*] From the senate.

5 *Cujus*] Allobrogum sc.

*Patrocínio*] All the provinces had their patrons from amongst the great men at Rome, who acted as our modern consuls, for the benefit of trade or other matters, relative to their respective clients. An imitation of this custom is still in use at the Roman court, each country acknowledging the Pope's jurisdiction, having some great man to take care of its rights, under the title of *Cardinal-protector*.

6 *Aperiunt*] Legati.

7 *Studium*] A strong inclination for.

8 *Simulent*] That they should pretend.

*Polliceantur*] To the conspirators.

*Dentque operam*] By seeming to enter into all their measures.

XLII. *A digression of 2 Chapters, from the ambassadors to the conspirators.— Their conduct in Italy.*

1 *In Gallia Citeriore & Ulteriore, in Agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia*] Citeriore, on this side the Alps, Ulteriore on the other side from Rome. Picenum was a country near the Appennines; Bruttium, a part of Lower Calabria, at the east end of Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, now called Abruzzo. Apulia, a part of the same kingdom on the Adriatic, now called Lapuglia.

3 *Dimiserat*] It may not be improper to observe, that *mitto* signifies barely to send, *demitto* to send down, and *dimitto* to send away, to dismiss, or discharge: *dimissi sunt legati*, the ambassadors had their audience of leave.

*Dementia*] Dementia is frenzy, or maniacal madness, *amentia* folly, the condition of an idiot.

4 *Armorum atque telorum*] *Arma* signifies arms offensive or defensive, *tela*, are missive weapons.

7 *Causâ cognitâ*] Having examined into the affair.

8 *Legatus*] *A Lego*, a deputy or lieutenant, who commands in the name of another.

XLIII. At

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus, cum ceteris qui principes conjunctionis erant, paratis (ut videbantur,) magnis copiis, constituerant, uti, Catilina in agrum Fæfulanum cum venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis concione habitâ quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique gravissimi invidiam optumo Consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxima nocte cetera multitudo conjunctionis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: 'Statilius et Gabinus uti cum magnâ manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent; quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem, ceterosque, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium; sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde & incendio percussis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent.' Inter hæc parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: 'illos, dubitando & dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse: sequere, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum.' Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat.

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt: ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, po-

# NOTÆ.

XLIII. *Conduct of the chief conspirators in the city.*

1 *Ordo.*—At Lentulus constituerat Romæ cum cæteris, qui erant principes conjunctionis, paratis magnis copiis, ut videbatur, uti, cum Catilina venisset cum exercitu in agrum Fæfulanum, L. Bestia, tribunus plebis, habita concione, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, & imponeret optimo consuli invidiam belli gravissimi.

2 *Ut videbantur]* i. e. ut copiarum videbantur.

4 *De actionibus Ciceronis]* Scil. his procedures in the senate, against the conspirators.

5 *Optumo Consuli]* It would appear by the elevated epithets given here and elsewhere to Cicero, that Sallust and he, before the writing of this history, had been reconciled: For formerly they were at great enmity.

*Eo signo]* This signal was, that when Lucius Bestia should complain against Cicero, in the senate, the next night every

one of the conspirators should repair to his particular charge.

6 *Sed ea divisa]* *Ea negotia*, quæ quisque exsequerentur.

8 *Incenderent]* Set fire to.

10 *Obsideret]* From *ob* & *sedes*, to sit down before a place.

13 *Percussis]* From *percutio*.

*Erumperent]* Break out, i. e. in the city.

14 *Ignavia]* From *in*, & *navus*, expert.

15 *Sociorum]* Accomplices.

*Prolatando]* From *pro* & *fero*.

16 *Facto non consulto]* Something done, not consulted on.

17 *Impetum]* An assault, from *in* & *peto*.

*Ordo.*—Et se facturum impetum in curiam, si pauci adjuvarent, aliis languentibus.

18 *Vehemens]* Violent, a *veho*, as we are carried or transported beyond proper bounds.

XLIV. *Certain proofs of the plot, given to the ambassadors.*

stulant

stulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civis perferant; aliter haud facile eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Ceteri, nihil suspicantes, jusjurandum dant: Cassius semet eò brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paullo ante legatus ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus cum his T. Volturcium quemdam Crotoniensem mittit; uti Allobroges prius, quam domum pergerent, cum Catilinâ datâ & acceptâ fide societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra scriptum est.

*Qui sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac, cogites in quantâ calamitate sis, & memineris te virum esse; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis.*

Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat: 'cûm ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quæ consilio servitiâ repudiet? in urbe parata esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propius accedere.'

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constitutâ nocte, quâ proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flaccô & C. Pomtino Prætoribus imperat, 'uti in pontem Mulvio (per inîdias) Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant;' rem omnem aperit, cujus gratiâ mittebantur; cetera, uti factô opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu præditiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occultè pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturciô

## NOTÆ.

2 *Eos*] The Allobrogian citizens.

*Suspicientes*] From *sub* & *aspicio*.

3 *Eò*] Where the ambassadors were.

5 *Ante*] Before the time of his expected return.

*Crotoniensem*] A native of Crotona, a city of that part of Italy called Magna Græcia, now belonging to the King of Naples.

6 *Fide*] An oath.

7 *Exemplum*] A copy.

9 *Ex eo*] Volturcio.

*Rationes*] Measures.

11 *Petas*] Fac ut petas.

12 *Ad hoc*] Besides the letter, *mandata verbis dat*, he gives verbal orders.

*Quo consilio servitiâ repudiet?*] How could he refuse the assistance of the slaves?

13 *Ne cunctetur ipse, &c.*] That is, Catiline would make no delay in coming to Rome.

XLV. *Volturcius seized at the Mulvian bridge.*

1 *Quâ proficiscerentur*] On which they were to set out.

3 *Prætoribus*] The prætors were annual officers in the Republic, two in number, of whom one usually commanded the army in time of war, and the other acted as the civil judge at Rome, and was called Prætor Urbanus. His office was much the same as that of the lieutenant of the Police at Paris.

*Ponte Mulvio*] A bridge upon the Tiber, about two miles up the river from Rome, on the road leading to Etruria, now called *ponte Mollo*. Here the *via flaminia* begins.

5 *Homines militares*] The Romans gave this appellation to those, who had been thirty years in the station of military tribunes.

6 *Præceptum erat*] Scil. by Cicero, one of the consuls.

7 *Obsidunt*] Beset.

*Id loci*] That very place, *eum locum* is, that place, in a greater latitude, meaning there or thereabouts.

venere, & simul utrimque clamor exortus est: Galli, citò cognito consilio, sine morâ prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primò, cohortatus ceteros, gladio se à multitudine defendit: dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa priùs de salute suâ Pomtinum obtestatus, (quòd ei notus erat;) postremò timidus ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus sese Prætoribus dedit.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia propere per nuncios consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitiâ simul occupavere: nam lætabatur, 'conjurazione patefacta civitatem periculis ereptam esse; porro autem anxius erat, in maximo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus;' pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ, credebat. Igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium; itemque Cæparium Tarracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Ceteri sine morâ veniunt: Cæparius, paulò antè domo egressus, cognito indicio, ex urbe profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quòd prætor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem Concordiæ venire jubet: eò senatum advocat; magnæque frequentiâ ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas à legatis acceperat, eodem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius (interrogatus de itinere, de litteris; postremò

### N O T Æ.

*Clamor exortus est*] That is, by the Prætors and their men. *Galli*] The Allobroges. *Cohortatus ceteros*] The rest of his company; that is, the ambassadors. *A multitudine*] Of the soldiers. *Ei*] Volturcius.

XLVI. *Catiline's principal accomplices in the city, seized by Cicero.* *Illorum*] That is, *captorum civium*, as in the event, it proved a great difficulty, and detriment to him, being banished some time after. *Sibi oneri*] Because of the odium he must contract, on punishing so many persons of distinction, which accordingly happened; and he [was afterwards banished.

*Impunitatem*] Letting the conspirators go unpunished.

*Perdunda reipublica*] Would be their ruin.

*Igitur*] For that reason.

*Tarracinensem*] Tarracina was a town in Latium, antiently called Anxur, and hence the patrician *Terracensis*.

*Ceteri*] The other four. *Cognito indicio*] When he knew of the discovery of the plot.

*Consul*] Cicero. *Ædem concordiæ*] This temple was built by Camillus, in consequence of a vow he had made, on account of the happy termination of the dissensions between the Patricians and Plebeians, and the peace concluded on the Mons Sacer. *Temple of concord.*

XLVII. *Volturcius gives testimony before the senate.*

*Ordo*.—Volturcius interrogatus de itinere, & de litteris, & interrogatus postremo quid consilii habuisset, aut qua de causa.

quid,



*quid, aut quâ de causâ, consilii habuisset?*) primò fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuratione; pòst, ubi fide publicâ dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: *Se paucis antè diebus à Gabinio & Cæpario socium adscitum; nihil ampliùs scire, quàm legatos; tantummodo audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos præterea in eâ conjuratione esse.* Eadem Galli fatentur; ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus erat: *Ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliiis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antè, se tertium cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea, ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis, haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.* Igitur perlectis litteris, cùm priùs omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, *uti abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item ceteri in liberis custodiis haberentur.* Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum Ædilis erat; Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Staiilius

G 2

C. Cæsari,

## N O T Æ.

1 *Fingere, dissimulare*] *Fingo* is to invent a falsehood, *dissimulo* to conceal the truth.

4 *Adscitum*] Ad & sciscor.

*Legatos*] Scil. Allobrogum.

6 *Galli*] The Ambassadors of the Allobroges.

*Dissimulantem*] Denying his knowledge of the conspiracy.

8 *Ex libris Sibyllinis*] A strange woman called Amalthea, who was a Sibylla or prophetess, is said to have brought nine books to Tarquinius Superbus last king of Rome; but he refusing to buy them at her price, she burnt three of them, and asked the same price for the remaining six. He looked upon her as distracted, upon which she burnt three more, and came and demanded the same sum for the rest. The king, surprized at the woman's conduct, consulted the augurs, and by their advice bought the remaining three at the price first demanded for the whole. The woman went off and was never more seen. These books were deposited in a stone chest in the capitol. They were said to contain the fate of the empire, and were consulted as oracles in times of publick calamity.

12 *Signa sua*] *Signum* is that seal, which is put to private letters, *Sigillum* signifies a great seal, and is used in patents or writings of a publick nature.

14 *In liberis custodiis*] It was a compliment, sometimes paid to criminals of

high birth and distinction, that they were not sent to the common prison, but committed to the custody of the Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, or persons who became bail for them; and this kind of confinement was called *libera custodia*.

15 *Ædilis*] So called *ab ædibus curandis*. These were magistrates, four in number, whereof two were elected out of the commons, and were called *Ædiles plebis*; the other two were chosen out of the nobility, and were named *Ædiles curules*, because they were allowed the honour of using the *fella curulis*, which was a chair of state made of ivory, on which they sat in their chariots. The office of the Ædiles was to inspect the building and reparation of publick edifices, such as temples, theatres, baths, &c. to take care that the roads were kept in good repair, to rectify weights and measures, to regulate the games and publick diversions. Besides these four Ædiles, Julius Cæsar, A. U. 710, added two more out of the nobility, who were called *Ædiles cereales*, because their business was to inspect the publick stores of corn, supervise all commodities exposed to sale in the markets, and punish delinquents in matters of buying and selling.

Q. Cornificio, Marco Crasso, &c.] This Cornificius was a candidate for the consulship with Cicero, but rejected; he was also his colleague in the augurate, as appears

C. Cæsari, Gabinio M. Crasso, Cæpario (nam is paullo ante ex fuga retractus) Cn. Terentio senatori, traduntur.

XLVIII. Interea plebes, conjuratione patefactâ, quæ primò (cupida rerum novarum,) nimis bello favebat, mutatâ mente, Catilinæ consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad cælum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta, gaudium atque lætitiâ agitabat: namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quàm detrimento; incendium verò crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxumè calamitosum, putabat, quippe cui omnes copię in usu quotidiano & cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is, cum se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus à consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem ferè, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: præterea, *se missum à M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nuntiaret, ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alique ex conjuratione, deprehenso terrerent; eoque magis properaret ad urbem accedere, quò & ceterorum animos reficeret, & illi facilius è periculo eriperentur.* Sed, ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summâ potentiâ; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tametsi verum existimabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quàm exagitanda videbatur;

#### N O T Æ.

appears from the epistles that are extant, wrote to him by Cicero. Spinther's real name was P. Corn. Lentulus, and he was so called from his strong resemblance to one Spinther, a stage-player. He was consul with Metellus Nepos, *A. U. C.* 696, in which office he acquired great reputation. He took the side of Pompey during the civil wars, as we learn from Cæsar. M. Crassus, surnamed *the Rich*, had been general in Asia, and was thought extremely covetous.

2 *Traduntur*] Are given in custody.

XLVIII. *Transactions in the city and in the senate, upon the conspirators being seized.*—3 *Chapters, beginning with information against Crassus as an accomplice.*

1 *Ordo.*—Interea patefacta conjuratione plebes, quæ primo cupida rerum novarum, favebat nimis bello, execrari consilia Catilinæ mente sua mutata, & tollere Ciceronem ad cælum usque, & agitabat gaudium atque lætitiâ, velut e-

rupta esset ex servitute. Namque putabat alia facinora belli fore magis prædæ, quàm detrimento, putabat vero incendium fore crudele, immoderatum, ac maxime calamitosum sibi: quippe cui omnes copię erant in usu quotidiano, & cultu corporis.

4 *Gaudium atque lætitiâ*] Both these words signify joy, but of different kinds. *Lætitiâ* is that joy, which shows itself by outward gestures, *gaudium* is an inward tranquillity, and satisfaction of mind.

8 *Tarquinius*] Most commentators are of opinion this ought to be written *Tarquitium*, as it is evident from all historians, that the name of *Tarquin* was so odious to the Romans, that no man dared assume it.

12 *Edocet*] *Edoceo*, is to teach diligently, to instruct or forewarn.

19 *Tanta vis hominis*] He was not only rich, but extremely acceptable to the people.

*Exagitanda*] Roused, provoked.

plerique,

plerique, Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii, conclamant *indicem falsum*; deque eâ re postulant uti referatur: itaque, consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, *Tarquiniî indicium falsum videri, eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset.* Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, 'illud à P. Autronio machinatum, quò facilius, appellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentiâ tegeret.' Alii Tarquinium à Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo suscepto malorum patrociniò, rempublicam conturbaret: ipsum Crassum ego postea prædicantem audiui, 'tantam illam contumeliâ sibi ab Cicerone impostam.'

XLIX. Sed iisdem temporibus Q. Catulus & C. Piso, neque gratiâ, neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Cæsar falsò nominaretur: nam uterque cum illo gravis inimicitias exercebant; Piso, oppugnatus in iudicio repetundarum, propter cuiusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum; Catulus, ex petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quòd extremâ ætate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discefferat.

## NOTÆ.

1 *Ex negotiis privatis obnoxii*] As Crassus was very rich, many were his creatures on account of the great number of his debtors.

2 *Uti referatur*] A matter is said to be referred, which is proposed in the senate for their opinions.

*Consulente*] Putting the question.

4 *Potestatem faciundam*] Scil. loquendi aut indicandi.

6 *Machinatum*] From *machinor*, fabrico, quòd à *machina*, an engine.

7 *Reliquos*] From *re & linquo*, to leave.

11 *Contumeliâ*] From *contumeo*, to swell, with arrogance.

XLIX. *The consul tampered with, to impeach Cæsar.*

1 *Neque gratiâ, precibus neque pretio*] Neither by interest, intreaty or bribes.

5 *Cuiusdam Transpadani*] *Transpadani* denotes the people who lived on the north side of the Po. Cæsar was their patron, and had taken part with them in this cause against Piso.

6 *Pontificatus*] Numa Pompilius established a college of priests at Rome, to superintend and take charge of the cere-

monies of religion, the chief of these was stiled *Pontifex Maximus*, and had an authority equal to that of our archbishops.

6 *Odio incensus*] Plutarch in the life of Cæsar, has furnished us with an anecdote that may serve to illustrate this passage. Metellus, the chief Pontiff, being dead, Isauricus and Catulus, the most eminent persons in the senate, were competitors for that high office; Cæsar, not the least discouraged, solicited the same. As Catulus looked on himself to be superior to his fellow candidates, he privately offered a large sum of money to Cæsar, that he might desist from his pretensions, willing to save his pride the mortification of a disappointment. This offer was rejected by Cæsar with disdain, who accordingly went to the place of election, and succeeded in his wish. Thus we see that animosity, with which Catulus would have pursued Cæsar, on any proof of his being concerned in the conspiracy, fully accounted for.

7 *Maxumis honoribus*] He was Ædile and Prætor, and afterwards consul with Lepidus.



Res autem opportuna videbatur; quòd, privatim egregiâ liberalitate, publicè maxumis muneribus, grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed, ubi consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi (singulatim circumeundo, atque ementiundo quæ se ex Volturcio aut Allobrogibus audisse dicerent,) magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eò, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui præsidii causâ cum telis erant circum Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi nobilitate impulsî, quòd studium in suum rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur; & dum legatis Allobrogum & Titò Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur; liberti & pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant; partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti: Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, uti grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis uti res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert, QUID DE HIS FIERI PLACEAT, QUI IN CUSTODIAM TRADITI ERANT: sed eos paullo antè frequens senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. Tunc D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quòd eo tempore consul designatus erat, 'de his qui in custodiis tene-

## N O T Æ.

1 *Ordo*.—Res autem videbatur esse opportuna, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate, debebat publice maximis muneribus grandem pecuniam.

*Res autem opportuna videbatur*] Hoc vult: Id autem, ut nominaretur inter conjuratos, opportunum videbatur, eò quod, &c.

*Privatim*] By giving entertainments at his house.

3 *Ipsi*] Piso and Catulus.

5 *Illi*] Cæsar.

6 *Circum Concordiæ*] An ellipsis, like *ad Futurnæ, in Veneris, à Vestæ, ad Apollinis*, where *adem* or *ade* is understood.

8 *Studium*] Zeal.

L. *Debates in the senate, on the apprehension of a rescue.*

2 *Liberti*] The free citizens of

Rome were either *ingenui*, *libertini*, or *liberti*. The *ingenui* were such as had been born free, and of parents that had been always free. The *libertini* were born free, but of parents that had been made free. The *liberti* were such as had been actually made free themselves, and were generally much attached to the interest of their old masters on account of this favour.

3 *Diversis itineribus*] Going to different parts of the city.

4 *In vicis ad eum eripiendum*] To rescue him in the streets.

*Duces multitudinum*] Leaders of the mob.

5 *Vexare soliti*] Subint. erant.

7 *Grege facto*] In a body. Subint. uti.

13 *Consul designatus erat*] Was consul elect.

'bantur:



‘bantur, (præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, ‘si deprehensi forent,) supplicium sumendum decreverat: isque postea, permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quòd de eâ re, præfidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum est, rogatus sententiam à consule, hujusmodi verba locutus est.

LI. *Omnis homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque misericordia, vacuos esse decet: haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt: neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul & usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium, valet; si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui Reges atque populi, ira aut misericordia impuls,*

## N O T Æ.

3 *Permotus*] Greatly moved. *Motus* signifies being moved only in an ordinary or common manner. *Permotus* much or greatly moved, in an extraordinary manner.

*Pedibus in sententiam*] There were chiefly three ways by which the members of the senate signified their assent to any thing proposed in the house, 1. *Verbo*, by saying *adsentio*. 2. *Nutu & sublatâ manu*, by nodding the head, and lifting up the hand. 3. *Pedibus*, when the house divided, and all those who were of the same sentiment went apart by themselves, and then, upon numbering heads, the point in dispute was determined according to plurality.

4 *Præfidiis additis*] Not only increasing the number of those who were placed as guards, over the houses of Lentulus, and the rest of the conspirators; but doubling the guards in other parts of the city.

5 *Ad eum ventum*] Subint. est. verbs impersonals of the passive voice, being formed of neuters, have cases as other verbs neuters, from whence they come.

6 *Hujusmodi verba*] These very words. *As hic*, signifies this thing, and *hicce*, this very or identical thing.

LI. *Rash and severe counsels, commonly unjust, and against the usage of the senate.*

1 *Omnis*] This subtle speech of Cæsar, has not the regular parts of an oration, exordium, propositio, narratio, confirmatio, refutatio, peroratio, but consists of two chief heads in two chapters.—

First, the inconveniencies of passionate and rash measures. Second, the danger of illegal precedents, with a conclusion against putting Lentulus, and the rest of the conspirators to death.

1 *Patres conscripti*] The Roman senators were called by this title, as Onuphrius thinks, on this account. When Romulus had founded his new city, and opened an asylum for all nations, he received the Hetrusci, Sabines, and other people, into a community of privileges with his native Romans, and after the peace concluded with Tatius, he formed the senators, out of the most illustrious families, of this medley of people, which were said to be *conscripti*, or enrolled as persons qualified to serve, in the standing council of the nation.

*Consultant*] *Consulo* is to consult or deliberate on any point, to consider of a matter. *Consulto* to deliberate together, or in conjunction with others.

2 *Vacuus esse decet*] *Vacuus*, liberus. *Decet* is used to express convenience, or expediency, and *oportet*, where necessity is implied.

3 *Animus*] Signifies inclination, and *mens*, judgment or understanding.

*Officiunt*] Blind their judgments. *Officia* is properly to hinder, and in this sense we say in English, an officious person, or busy body.

4 *Lubidini simul & usui paruit.*] Intervivit cupiditati simul & utilitati; ea fecit, quæ cuperet, & quæ verè utilis essent.

malè

*malè consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi, rectè atque ordine fecère. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magis quàm injuriæ causâ bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos dimisere. Item bellis Punicis omnibus, cùm sæpe Carthaginenses & in pace & per inducias multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecère: magis, quid se dignum foret, quàm quid in illis jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc idem providendum est, Patres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli & ceterorum scelus, quàm vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ, quàm famæ, consulatis: nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo; sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat; iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt.*

LII. *Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositi atque magnificè casum reipublicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia esset, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravère; 'rapi virgines, pueros; 'divelli liberos à parentum complexu; matres familiarum pati, quæ*

*'victori-*

## NOTÆ.

1 *Lubidinem*] *Lubido* or *Libido*, means our will, or passion for doing an act, and is taken in an ill sense: *voluntas*, is simply, our desire, and means a design; *arbitrium* is our judgment or opinion; *consilium*, is deliberation or advice; *votum*, a wish.

3 *Rhodiorum civitas*] *Rhodes* is an island in the Mediterranean sea, formerly dedicated to the sun, at the west point of Asia Minor, now called Cape Matapan.

4 *Opibus creverat*] The Rhodians assisted the Romans, in the war against Antiochus, King of Syria, on whose defeat, the Rhodians had several cities of his kingdom given them by the Roman people, as a reward for their services.

5 *Bello confecto*] Having compleated the war. *Conficio*, is to atchieve or bring to pais; *perficio*, to go through an affair, or prevail; *finio*, barely to finish, or put an end to; *absolvo*, to quit or relinquish.

7 *Bellis punicis omnibus*] The Romans were three times at war with the Carthaginians.

8 *Nefaria facinora*] Such as taking merchant ships belonging to the Romans, and carrying them into Carthage, during

a cessation of arms.

9 *Ordo*.—*Quia illa quærebant magis, quod foret dignum se, quam quod posset fieri jure in illos.*

12 *Ne*] Or lest, or that not.

13 *Reperitur*] *Reperio*, is to find out, or devise, *invento*, to discover, invent or contrive, by study or design.

14 *Adprobo*] Or *approbo*, is to like, justify or approve of; *probo*, to prove or try by experience.

15 *Iis*] *Supplicis, Scil.*

LII. *Severity, inconsistent with the honour and dignity, of the Roman Senate.*

*Miserati sunt*] *Miseror*, is to deplore or lament; *miseror*, to pity or have compassion on.

4 *Matres familiarum*] Marriage was contracted three ways among the Romans, *usu, farre, & coemptione*. *Confarreatio* was when the rites were performed with sacrifices and offerings of burned cakes, by the *Flamen Dialis*. *Coemptio*, was when the parties were contracted by words of the present tense; as 'will you be my help-mate in taking care of my

\* *vicioribus collibuisse; sana atque domos exspoliari; cædem, incendia fieri; postremò, armis, cadaveribus, cruore, atque luctu, omnia compleri.* Sed (per Deos immortalis!) quò illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet, quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovet, eum oratio accendet! Non ita est; neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Sed aliis alia licentia est, Patres conscripti. Qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundiâ deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelsa ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxime fortunâ minima licentia est: neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet: quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur. Equidem ego sic æstumo, Patres conscripti, omnis cruciatus minores quàm facinora illorum esse: sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris obliiti, de pœnâ differunt, si ea paullo severior fuit.

LIII. D. Silanum, virum fortem atque strenuum, certe scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tantâ re gratiam aut inimicitias exercere; eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verùm sententia non mihi crudelis (quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri potest?) sed aliena à republicâ nostrâ videtur: nam profectò, aut metus, aut injuria te subegit, Silane, consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est differere, cum præsentis diligentia clarissimi viri consulis tanta præsidia sint in armis: de

## N O T Æ.

my family? and the woman answers, I will. These kind of wives were called *matres familiarum*. This was a marriage by coemption, as being a mere mutual civil bargain or agreement, as Ulpian expresses it, in his institutes. The woman in this case, was not admitted into the family of her husband, but was only introduced into the charge of his house, and was excluded from being heir to any part of his estate. A woman married by the Pontifical ceremonies, was stiled *matrona*, and had all the legal rights of a wife. Those stiled wives *ex usu*, were considered as little better than concubines, and might be discharged at will.

4 *Scilicet*] To be sure, indeed.

8 *Fama atque fortuna*] Eorum.

14 *Cruciatus*] *Cruciatus* signifies extreme punishment or torture inflicted on criminals. *Supplicium*, punishment of any kind, or atonement for a crime; *pœna* is penalty, either corporal or pecuniary.

*Illorum*] The conspirators.

LIII. Silanus's advice unnecessary, and introductory of an illegal precedent.

1 *Fortem atque strenuum*] *Fortis*, is brave or stout, *strenuus*, where activity is joined with strength or force.

2 *Studio*] With zeal.

4 *Talis homines*] Such as the conspirators.

H

pœnâ

*pœnâ possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; 'in luctu atque  
'miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta  
'mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrâ neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse.'*  
Sed (per Deos immortalis!) quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti,  
'uti prius verberibus in eos animadverteretur?' an, quia lex Por-  
cia vetat? at aliæ leges item, 'condemnatis civibus animam non eripi,  
'sed in exilium permitti' jubent.' An, quia gravius est verberari,  
quàm necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimis, in homines tanti  
facinoris convictos? sin, quia levius est; qui convenit, in minore negotio  
legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet,  
quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? tempus, dies, fortuna,  
cujus libido gentibus moderatur. Illis merito accidit, quidquid evene-  
rit; ceterum vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate:  
omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta sunt; sed ubi imperium ad  
ignaros aut minus bonos pervenit, novum illud exemplum ab dignis  
et idoneis ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur.

LIV. Lacedæmonii devictis Atheniensibus triginta viros imposuere,  
qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cæpere, pessimum quem-  
que et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare; ea populus lætari, et me-  
rito dicere fieri: post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et  
malos libidinosè interficere, ceteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute

## N O T Æ.

1 *In luctu atque miseris, &c.*] Some commentators think this passage defective, as Cæsar seems to break that part of the thread of his argument, which he had been engaged in, when he mentioned, *aut metus, aut injuria*, and thereby omits the latter member of his discourse. But this is a mistake, for *injuria* & *pœna* are in this respect equipollent and relative terms. All that Cæsar means is to prove that Silanus was influenced in giving his opinion, either by motives of fear, or those which policy might suggest.

5 *Prius verberibus*] Inflicting the utmost rigour of the law, first scourging and after putting them to death.

*Animadverteretur*] *Animadverto* is to consider with attention, carefully and diligently.

*Lex Porcia*] This law forbade the corporal punishment of Roman citizens by whipping, which was before inflicted by the lictors or bailiffs.

6 *Aliæ leges*] He means that part of the tribunitian power which could prevent the passing of any decree of the se-

nate, by the single word *veto*.

9 *Sin*] Subint. non addidisti uti prius, &c.

*Quia levius*] Est. verberari, Scil. quam necari.

11 *Tempus, dies*] *Tempus*, means time or opportunity; *dies*, time or duration. Subaud. reprehendat.

12 *Illis*] Parricidis, Scil.

14 *Ex bonis*] Initiis.

*Ad ignaros aut minus bonos*] Magistratus.

15 *Ab dignis et idoneis*] The guilty.

16 *Indignos & non idoneos*] The innocent and worthy.

LIV. Instances of the dangerous consequences of illegal precedents.

1 *Atheniensibus imposuere, &c.*] Verba, commodum aut incommodum significan-  
tia, dativum postulant.

*Triginta viros imposuere*] This hap-  
pened in the year of Rome 347.

4 *Juxta*] Alike.

5 *Libidinosè*] At pleasure.

*oppressa,*



*oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostrâ memoriâ victor Sulla, cûm Damasippum et alios hujusmodi (qui malo reipublicæ creverant) jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines sceleratos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, merito necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit; nam, uti quisque domum aut villam, postremò aut vas aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset: ita quibus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, post paullò ipsi trahabantur, neque prius finis jugulandi fuit, quàm Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hoc, non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus, vereor; sed in magnâ civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt: potest, alio tempore, alio consule, cui item exercitus in manus sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc exemplo per senati decretum consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur?*

LV. Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii neque audaciæ umquam eguere; neque superbia obstabat, quo minùs aliena instituta, si modo proba, imitarentur: arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumserunt; postremo, quod ubique apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur: imitari, quàm invidere bonis, malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadverte-

## N O T Æ.

2 *Damasippum*] A man remarkable only for following the party of Marius, and cutting off every person suspected by his master.

6 *Domum aut villam*] *Domus* is a house in general, *villa* is particularly applied to a country retirement.

7 *Proscriptorum*] Those sent into banishment, forfeited goods and chattels.

LV. *Cæsar concludes with advice, founded on old custom and established laws.*

3 *Arma atque tela ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis*] *Arma*, signify defensive, and *tela*, missile weapons, the use, or at least the improvement of which, the Romans learned, from their war with the Samnites, a brave nation, situated in the hither part of the kingdom of Naples, about 160 miles S. E. of Rome. This war was begun, in the year of Rome 410, in the consulate of Valerius and Cornelius, in which the Romans were victorious, 30000 of the enemy being killed on the field of

battle. The Tuscii, Tuscans, or Hetrurians, were inhabitants of that part of Italy, now called the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, from whom the Romans got their ensigns of magistracy, and many religious ceremonies. The name *Tusci*, is derived from *Thus*, frankincense, *quod a thus sacrificare.*

3 *Ab Samnitibus*] The Samnites inhabited the country to the N. of Campania.

5 *Studio*] Zeal, eagerness, diligence.

7 *Græciæ morem imitati*] In the rude ages of the Roman state, it was usual to condemn the citizens guilty of certain crimes, to receive a particular number of stripes, which custom they derived from the Spartans, and some other states of Greece; but this was afterwards abolished by the Porcian law. These remains of barbarism are still preserved in the Russian empire, where even a boyar, or duke, is liable to be flogged, like a common soldier, at the command of the sovereign, without leaving the smallest stain on his reputation.

bant in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Postquam respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valere; circumveniri innocentes, alia hujusmodi fieri, capere; tum lex Porcia aliaque parata, quibus legibus exilium damnatis permixtum. Hanc ego causam, Patres conscripti, quo minus novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto: profecto virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere; quam in nobis, qui ea bene parata vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minime; sed ita censeo: 'Publicandas eorum pecunias; ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxime opibus valent; neu quis de his postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existimare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum.'

LVI. Postquam Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, ceteri verbo (alius alii) variè adfentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato, rogatus sententiam, hujusmodi orationem habuit.

Longè mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cum res atque pericula nostra considero, & cum sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi differuisse videntur de pœnâ eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis, bellum paravere; res autem monet, ca-

# NOTÆ.

6 In illis] Majoribus, Scil.

8 Eos] Lentulus, and the other conspirators.

9 Publicandas eorum pecunias] Publico ærario adjudicandas, quem morem à Græcis Romani acceperunt. Pecunia notat omnia bona.

10 Municipia] Borough or corporation towns, endowed with privileges, and a power of being governed by their own magistrates, chosen from amongst the citizens, like our towns, that have a mayor and aldermen.

11 Ad senatum referat] A matter was said to be referred to the senate, when their votes were to be collected, for the absolution or condemnation of the criminal. Neve cum populo agat, that is, let there be no appeal to the people in this case. By these expressions, it appears, that Cæsar was extremely tender of the conspirators, whose cause, he is violently suspected of secretly approving.

LVI. Cato answers Cæsar, and the other Favourers of Lentulus, &c. in five Chapters; urging the necessity of immediate and severe punishment, from the im-

minent danger to themselves and the senate, the hazard of confirming and encreasing the Rebel army, the critical situation of affairs and nature of the crime, and the folly of security or supineness in such cases, with a conclusion of advice for instant execution.

2 M. Porcius Cato] This is the famous Cato, who, transported with indignation at the success of Julius Cæsar in the civil wars, stabbed himself, and died at Utica; and upon that account was after surnamed Uticensis. Our author gives his character, cap. liv. He was the grandson of Porcius Cato, the renowned moralist, who used to conclude his speeches in the senate with this exclamation, Delenda est Carthago.

4 Longè mihi alia mens est] Prevention, not punishment, the proper measure in a danger, which threatened the ruin of the republic; and with it, the loss of their pomp, possessions and pleasures.

7 Aris atque focis] A metaphorical expression, usual among the Romans. By Aræ, were meant their temples, or religion, by focis, their houses and families.

vere

vide Demosth.

vere ab illis magis, quàm quid in illis statuamus consultare: nam cætera tum persequare, ubi facta sunt; hoc nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit frustra iudicia implores; captâ urbe nihil sit reliqui victis. Sed, per Deos immortalis! vos ego appello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras, pluris quàm rempublicam fecistis; si ista (cujuscumque modi sint) quæ amplexamini retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere vultis; expergiscimini aliquando, et capeffite rempublicam: non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpenumero, Patres conscripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci; sæpe de luxuriâ atque avaritiâ nostrorum civium questus sum, multosque mortalis eâ causâ adversos habeo; qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud faciliè alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam: sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma erat; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non id agitur, bonis an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut quàm magnificum imperium populi Romani sit; sed hæc cujuscumque modi videntur nostra, an nobiscum unâ hostium futura sint.

LVII. Hic mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur; eo respublica in extremo sita. Sint sanè, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur; et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant. Bene et compositè C. Cæsar paullo antè in hoc ordine de vitâ et morte disseruit; falsa (credo) existumans ea, quæ de inferis memorantur; ‘diverso itinere malos à bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere.’ itaque censuit PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut à popularibus conjurationis, aut à multi-

## NOTÆ.

1 Ab illis] Supple. magis.

8 De vectigalibus] Vectigal is a tax, gabel, or tribute, payable either by natural subjects, or by a conquered country, for the support of the establishment.

LVII. Lenity to such traitors is cruelty, not mercy; particularly Cæsar's proposal, absurd in itself, and encouraging to the Rebels.

6 Sanguinem] Our lives. The Pagan belief was, that the soul resided in the blood.

8 Falsa, credo existumans, quæ de inferis memorantur] Cato here accuses Cæsar, of disbelieving the immortality of the soul, and a state of rewards and punishments after this life, of which he himself was fully persuaded.

tudine conductâ, per vim eripiantur: quasi vero mali atque scelesti tantummodo in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores sunt. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si periculum ex illis metuit: sin, in tanto omnium metu, solus non timet; eo magis refert, me mibi atque vobis timere. Quare, cùm de P. Lentulo ceterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ et de omnibus conjuratis decernere: quanto vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit; si paullulum modo vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt.

# LVIII. Nolite existimare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parvâ magnam fecisse; si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam eam nos haberemus; quippe sociorum atque civium, præterea armorum atque equorum, major nobis copia quam illis. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubrici obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publicè egestatem, privatim opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet: neque mirum, ubi vos separatim sibi quisque consilium capitis; ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniæ aut gratiæ servitis: eo fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilissimi cives patriam incendere; Gallorum gentem, infestissimam nomini Romano, ad bellum arcessunt; dux hostium supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, et dubitatis quid intra mœnia deprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini censeo (deliquere homines adolescentuli

# N O T Æ.

9 *Feroces*] Elated on account of their success.

LVIII. *The strength of the Roman empire, no ground of security in the present situation of affairs; the times so corrupt, and therefore opportune; the crime so heinous, and the danger so near and so great.*

1 *Majores nostros, &c.*] The republic was very corrupt, at this period. The nobility, insatuated with all manner of intemperance and debauchery, and the poor miserably loaded with debts. Money was 34 per cent. and every necessary of life, extravagantly dear. Amidst this, almost general dissolution of manners in the nobility, and the poverty and oppression, reigning amongst the inferior classes of the state, it could not be won-

dered at, if Catiline was so readily joined by so many of the first quality, as they might be sure of an insurrection, from so oppressed and dissolute a commonalty, as that of Rome, in their favour, as soon as the first blow should be struck.

12 *Nobilissimi*] As if he had said, if the lower rank of people had formed this conspiracy, they might deserve our compassion. But these being persons of distinction, ought to be punished with the utmost severity.

14 *Supra caput*] Is just over our heads, ready to cut our throats, for he was then in Etruria.

16 *Misereamini censeo*] Ironical. He ridicules Cæsar, for saying the conspirators should not be put to death.



*per ambitionem) atque etiam armatos dimittatis. Næ ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet.*

LIX. *Scilicet res aspera est; sed vos non timetis eam. Immo vero maxumè: sed inertiâ et mollitiâ animi, alius alium expectantes, cunctamini; diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maximis sæpe periculis servavère. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus, auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospera omnia cedunt: ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverit, necari iussit; atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit: vos, de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cetera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verùm parcite dignitati Lentuli; si ipse puditiæ, si famæ suæ, si diis aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: ignoscite Cethegi adolescentiæ; nisi iterum patriæ bellum fecit: nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cæpario loquar; quibus, si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republicâ habuissent?*

LX. *Postremo, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos ipsâ re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique*

## N O T Æ.

LIX. *Indolence and supineness, in such a case, impious and absurd; inconsistent with the spirit and practice of former times, and with the exigence of the present.*

1 *Res aspera est*] Ironice.

6 *Socordiæ*] Socordia dicitur, quasi, sine corde.

8 *T. Manlius*] This gallant young man, was son to the consul Manlius, who commanded the Roman army, in the war against the Insubrian Gauls, and engaging one of the enemies officers in single combat, contrary to the general orders of the consul Manlius, he slew him, and returned to the camp, loaded with his spoils: yet the rigour of his father's justice, condemned him to lose his head for this breach of military discipline.

12 *Huic sceleri obstat*] Might counterbalance this crime.

14 *Iterum*] A second time.

*Nisi iterum patriæ bellum fecit*] Some think Cethegus had sided with Marius in the civil wars: Others take what is here

said to refer to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned cap. xviii. in which, they say, Cethegus was concerned.

15 *Si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset*] If he had ever had the least consideration; *pensi*, from *pendo*, to weigh, or deliberate upon.

LX. *Cato concludes with a motion for immediate punishment (according to the custom of their ancestors) for a crime so atrocious, clearly proved, and openly confessed.*

1 *Ordo.*—*Postremo, Patres Conscripti, si locus esset mehercule peccato, ego paterer facile vos corrigi ipsa re, quoniam contemnitis verba: Sed nos sumus circumventi undique: Catilina cum exercitu urget faucibus.*

*Mehercule*] A kind of an oath, usual among the Romans, signifying *by Hercules*.

2 *Corrigi*] To be set right, at your own expence, from *corrigor*, verb passive.

*circum-*

*circumventi sumus: Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget; alii intra mœnia, in sinu urbis sunt, hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occultè potest; quo magis properandum est. Quare ita ego censeo: 'Cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint, eadem, incendia, alia fœda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum.'*

LXI. Postquam Cato assedit, Consulares omnes, itémque senatûs magna pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant: Cato magnus atque clarus habetur: senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi (multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiaeque, mari atque terrâ præclara facinora fecit) fortè lubuit attendere, quæ res maxumè tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpenuerò parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis

## N O T Æ.

1 *Faucibus urget*] A familiar expression, equivalent to, *he is at our heels*, in English. The French say, *il est à mes trousses*, that is, *he is just behind me*, to express imminent danger, or immediate pursuit. The word *faucibus*, is particularly well applied here, to shew the bloody designs of Catiline, whose advance to Rome, would be attended with a general massacre, and who would not be satisfied with less than cutting the throats of all that were not of his party.

2 *Mœnia*] The city walls. *Murus*, is a kind of temporary defence, either of earth, stone or wood, to keep out an enemy. *Munimentum*, is a regular fortification, consisting of a dry wall, ramparts and ditches.

3 *Quò magis properandum*] Subaud. est.

4 *Nefario*] From *ne* & *fas*, not right, unjust, prohibited.

6 *Convicti confessique*] From *convinceo* & *confiteor*.

*Crudelia*] *Crudelis* from *cruer*, blood.

7 *De confessis*] By the civil law, he that confesses any article or position, being interrogated, is deemed guilty, tho' no crime be proved, as appears from the rescript of the emperor Severus. But in the modern practice two witnesses are required to prove a fact, where no circumstance appears. It is usual, in most coun-

tries, governed by the civil law, where circumstances are strong against the accused, and no evidence of the facts, to put the supposed criminal to the torture, in order to obtain a full confession, without which no capital punishment can be inflicted.

*Manifestis*] From *manus* & *fendo*, an old verb, used for *offendo* or *invenio*, to find with the hands, to be plain, certain, beyond doubt or contradiction. Accordingly, to express our reliance on this sense, we say *feeling has no fellow*.

8 *Capitalium*] From *caput*, the head, because great crimes were punished with the loss of the head.

LXI. The decree of the senate, with remarks thereon, and the characters of Cato and Cæsar.

1 *Consulares*] Persons who had been consuls, and consequently were of greater distinction, than senators who never enjoyed that office.

2 *Ad cœlum ferunt*] By the figure *Hyperbole*. This expression means, praised or extolled, very much.

3 *Increpantes*] From *increpo*, quod a *crepitu*, a noise or rattling.

7 *Sciebam*] *Senatum populumque Romanum*.

8 *Contendisse*] *Verba infiniti modi pro nominativo, accusativum ante se statuunt.*

copiis

copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus; ad hoc sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse: facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos, ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitati constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse; eoque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidiâ civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine suâ imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effœta parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sanè quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit. Sed memoriâ meâ ingenti virtute, diversi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar; quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores (quantum ingenio possem) aperirem. Igitur his genus, ætas, eloquentia, propè æqualia fuere; magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato; ille mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic severitas dignitatem addiderat: Cæsar, dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato, nihil largiundo, gloriam adeptus est: in altero miseris perfugium, in altero malis perniciēs; illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremò, Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset: at Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis

## N O T Æ.

1 *Violentiam*] In their wars against the Samnites, Gauls, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal.

2 *Facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos, &c.*] When the Roman republic was rude, and impotent, there were many learned and polite men in Greece, where the liberal arts were very early established, long before the Romans made any figure in the world. In like manner, the Gauls were celebrated for the most warlike nation in Europe, at a time, that the undisciplined manners, and petty state of Rome, could scarcely keep up the reputation of a government, much less, think of making war on their neighbours.

4 *Patravisse*] *Patro*, is to effect; *perficio*, to end or perfect any business; *facio*, to do a thing in any manner; *perpetro* to commit an act, and is generally taken in an ill sense.

6 *Imperatorum atque magistratuum*] Generals and civil magistrates.

7 *Sustentabat*] So great was the opu-

lence of the commonwealth, that it could suffer no diminution from the negligence of the magistrates, but rather absorbed their vices, in its own immensity.

*Effœta parentum*] A metaphor taken from women, who have done with child-bearing.

12 *Hic*] The author's parallel between Cæsar and Cato.

16 *Dando, sublevando, ignoscendo*] Scilicet Egenis, Miseris, Obnoxiiis.

20 *Magnum imperium*] All the actions of Cæsar, shew him to have been a man of most exorbitant ambition. It is reported, that when he was Quæstor in Spain, being ordered to go about on his collection of the tribute, he came into the temple of Hercules at Cadiz, and seeing therein the statue of Alexander the Great, he wept, and eagerly solicited to lay down his employment, that he might be at leisure for more grand designs.

22 *Severitatis*] Firmness, integrity.

erat; non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentiâ certabat; esse, quàm videri, bonus malebat: ita, quo minùs gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur.

LXII. Postquam (ut dixi) senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, consul optimum factu ratus, noctem quæ instabat antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, triumviros quæ supplicium postulabat parare jubet; ipse, dispositis prædidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit cæteris per Prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi paullulum ascenderis ad lævam, circiter duodecim pedes humi depressus: eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum locum postquam demissus Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium (quibus præceptum erat) laqueo gulam fregère: ita ille patricius, ex clarissimâ gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario eodem modo supplicium sumtum est.

LXIII. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina ex omni copiâ (quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat) duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet: dein, uti quisque (voluntarius, aut

# N O T Æ.

3 *Abstinentiâ*] He would neither give, or receive a gratuity.

LXII. *Lentulus, &c. executed, according to the decree of the Senate.*

3 *Triumviros*] Militares, Scil. a kind of sheriffs.

4 *Carcerem*] The goal, or prison.

5 *Tullianum*] Servius Tullus, the sixth king of Rome, enlarged and finished the publick prison begun by Ancus Martius, and in it made this dungeon, which from his name was called *Tullianum*. For the construction, see *Jug. cap. xix. n. 9.*

6 *Ad lævam*] Manum, Scil.

*Camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta*] A vault constructed or cemented, with strong stone arches, like an oven.

10 *Quibus præceptum erat*] The victors, or mace-bearers.

11 *Corneliorum*] The family of the Cornelii, was, without doubt, one of the most ancient and illustrious in the whole republick, not only on account of the

eminent employments, with which that house had been honoured, but for the great character it had always supported. The origin of this noble family is uncertain, but we find it was divided into four branches; the Maluginenses, the Scipios, the Rufini, and the Lentuli.

12 *De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cæpario*] See chap. 17th.

LXIII. *Conclusion of the war; five Chapters, beginning with the motions of Catiline, &c. after the death of Lentulus and the others.*

1 *Catilina ex omni copia, &c.*] Ibidem.

2 *Cohortes pro numero militum complet*] A legion consisted of ten cohorts, each cohort of three *manipuli*, and each *manipulus* of two *centuriæ*. And this was constantly the form in the Roman armies, whether the legion consisted of a great number or a small: For sometimes a legion had in it 6000 men, and then each

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aut ex fociiis) in castra venit, æqualiter distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat; cùm initio non amplius duobus millibus habuisset: sed ex omni copiâ circiter pars quarta erat militariibus armis instructa; ceteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii præacutas fudes portabant. Sed, postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere; ad urbem modò, modò in Galliam versùs, castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare; sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romæ focii incepta patravissent: interea servitia repudiabat (cujus initio ad eum magnæ copię concurrebant) opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus existumans videri, causam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, 'Romæ conjurationem patefactam; de Lentulo et Cethego, ceterisque quos suprà memoravi, supplicium sumtum;' plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit, eo consilio, uti per tramites occultè perfugerent in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans (quæ suprà diximus) Catilinam agitare: igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra properè movet; ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, quâ illi descensus erat in Galliam properanti; neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, utpote qui magno exercitu locis æquioribus expeditos in fuga sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam vidit montibus atque copiis

## N O T Æ.

*centuria* had 100, and each *manipulus* 200, and each cohort 600. Sometimes the legion consisted only of 3000, and then each *centuria* had 50, each *manipulus* 100, and each cohort 300. Sometimes a legion was made up of 4000, sometimes of 5000, and the number of men in each *centuria*, *manipulus*, and cohort varied accordingly.

3 *Militaribus armis instructa*] Such as soldiers usually bore, as a shield, lance, and broad sword.

4 *Sparos*] *Spari* were long poles, probably the handles of rakes used in husbandry, to which a point of iron had been added. For in this confusion, every person armed himself with what he could find, even *præacutas fudes*, stakes of wood sharpened or small at the ends. From *Sparus*, comes the Dutch word *Een Sparre*, and the English, spear.

5 *Antonius*] One of the consuls.

9 *Incepta patravissent*] It has been before related, that Catiline's party at Rome had conspired to murder Cicero the consul, and set fire to the city in several places at the same time, all which were prevented by the informations given to that consul, and by his prudent and resolute measures in consequence.

*Servitia repudiabat*] He rejected the assistance of the slaves.

14 *Quos supra memoravi*] In chap. 17th.

16 *Agrum Pistoriensem*] The country about Pistoria or Pistorium, a town in Etruria, not far from the foot of the Apennines, now called Pistoia.

18 *Q. Metellus Celer*] See chap. 43.

19 *Præsidebat*] *Præsidium* erat agro Piceno, ut & illum tueretur, & Catilinæ Gallorumque motus observaret.

20 *Perfugis*] Those who after deserting from Catiline, went over to Metellus.

hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ neque præsidii ullam spem; optimum factu ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quàm primùm conflare: itaque, concione advocatâ, hujusmodi orationem habuit.

LXIV. *Comptum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia naturâ, aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet: quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere; timor animi auribus officit. Sed ego vos, quo pauca monerem, advocavi; simul, uti causam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, 'socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit, quòque modo (dum ex urbe præsidia opperiri) in Galliam proficisci nequiverim.'* nunc quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxtâ mecum omnes intellegitis. 'Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter à Galliâ, obstant: diutius in his locis esse, si maxumè animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet: quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est.' Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cum prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præterea libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare. Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt; commeatus abundâ, coloniæ atque municipia patebunt: sin metu cesserimus, eadem illa adversa fient; neque locus neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præterea, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patriâ, pro libertate, pro vitâ certamus; illis supervacaneum est, pugnare pro potentiâ paucorum: quo audaciùs adgredimini, memores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit nobis, cum summâ turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere; potuistis nonnulli Romæ, amissis bonis, alienas opes expectare: quia illa fæda atque intoleranda viris

# NOTÆ.

LXIV. Catiline's harangue to his soldiers, to prepare them for the engagement.

3 *Naturâ, aut moribus*] By nature, or discipline.

5 *Officiis*] Stops, hinders; from *ob* & *facio*..

11 *Alter*] The army, under Metellus.

16 *Commeatus abundâ, &c.*] Plenty of provisions. *Commeatus*, strictly signifies, an escort or convey; from *cum* & *eo*, to go with.

17 *Coloniæ atque municipia*] Colonies

were citizens, sent to occupy waste lands, in some district, at a distance from the mother country, where a certain number of acres were distributed amongst them, according to their families, for their subsistence; as at Cologne, on the Rhine, in Germany, anciently *Colonia Agrippina*, from *Agrippa*, the founder of that colony. *Municipia*, were corporate towns, that had some, or all the privileges of Roman citizens, with a power of being governed by their own laws.

*vide*

*videbantur, hæc sequi decrevisſis. Si hæc relinquere vultis, audaciâ opus eſt: nemo, niſi victor, pace bellum mutavit; nam in fugâ ſalutem ſperare, cùm arma, quîs corpus tegitur, ab hoſtibus averteris, ea vero dementia eſt: ſemper in prælio iis maximum eſt periculum, qui maxumè timent; audacia pro muro habetur. Cùm vos conſidero, milites, et cùm facta veſtra æſtumo, magna me ſpes victoriæ tenet: animus, ætas, virtus veſtra hortantur; præterea neceſſitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit: nam, multitudo hoſtium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent anguſtiæ loci. Quòd ſi virtuti veſtræ fortuna invideris, cavete, inulti animam amittatis; neu capti potiùs ſicuti pecora trucidemini, quàm virorum more pugnantes cruentam atque luctuofam victoriam hoſtibus relinquatis.*

LXV. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulum commoratus ſigna canere jubet, atque inſtructos ordines in locum æquum deducit; dein, remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exæquato periculo, animus amplior eſſet, ipſe pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis inſtruit: nam, uti planities erat inter ſiniſtros montis, et ab dextrâ rupes aſpera; octo cohortes in fronte conſtituit, reliqua ſigna in ſubſidiis arctiùs collocat. Ab his centuriones omnis lectos et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optimum quemque armatum, in primam aciem ſubducit: C. Manlium in dextrâ, Fæſulanum quemdam in ſiniſtrâ parte curare jubet: ipſe cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adſiſtit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuiſſe dicebatur. At ex alterâ

## N O T Æ.

3 *Quis corpus tegitur*] *Quis* is here put for *quibus*, more Salluſtiano.

5 *Conſidero, æſtumo*] When I look, or contemplate you, my fellow ſoldiers, &c. *cùm veſtra facta, æſtumo*, and revolve or weigh in my mind, your former glorious actions.

11 *Cruentam atque luctuofam victoriam*] Not only a bloody victory, but ſuch as the conquerors muſt deplore, as coſting them very dear, in every other reſpect.

LXV. *The array of both the armies.*

1 *Signa canere*] To ſound the charge.  
2 *Ordines*] The ſignal in the Roman army, for putting the troops in order of battle was, hanging a purple canopy over the general's tent. Then the ſtandards and enſigns were plucked out of the

ground, and if they came readily, it was reckoned a good omen.

7 *Centuriones*] The Centurions were choſen out of the tribunes, by order of the conſul. They were very high in rank, as field officers, and were always of the general's council.

10 *Colonis*] Veterans, who had ſerved under Sylla, and had been ſent into Hetruria, to occupy farms, and till the ground.

11 *Cimbrico*] The Cimbri were a people to the North of Germany, near the Baltic, whoſe country ſuffering an inundation of the ſea, they, together with the Teutones, and Tugurini, migrated in ſearch of new ſettlements, and made war againſt the Romans.

parte C. Antonius pedibus æger, quod prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortes veteranas, quas tumulti causâ conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, ceterum exercitum in subsidiis locat: ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat, 'uti meminerint, se contra latrones inermes, pro patriâ, pro liberis, pro aris atque focis suis, cernere.' Homo militaris (quod amplius annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut Prætor cum magnâ gloriâ fuerat) plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando militum animos accendebat.

LXVI. Sed ubi rebus omnibus exploratis Petreius tubâ signum dat; cohortes paullatim incedere jubet; idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eò ventum est, unde à ferentariis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur: veterani, pristinæ virtutis memores, comminus acriter instare; illi haud timidi resistunt; maximâ vi certatur. Interea Catilina cum expeditis in primâ acie versari, laborantibus succurrere, integros pro faucibus arcessere; omnia providere: multum ipse pugnare, sæpe hostem ferire; strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul

## N O T Æ.

1 *Pedibus æger*] Dio XXXVII. p. 47. says this was an *ultronea podagra*, counterfeited by Antony, because he was afraid of meeting with Catiline, lest he should have upbraided him before the army for deserting the conspirators, whom once he had engaged with.

7 *Tribunus*] The *tribuni militum* were officers, of whom at first there were three in each legion; but were afterward increased to six. They were judges of controversies in the army, visited the watch, took care of the works of the camp: They had the honour of wearing a gold ring, in the same manner as the *equites*. The same as our Provosts Martial.

*Præfectus*] There were many kinds of *Præfecti*; but when *Præfectus* is put simply by itself, as here, without a restrictive or explicatory word joined with it, then generally it denotes the *Præfectus auxilium cohortium atque sociorum*, which was a station much of the same honour and command, among the auxiliaries and allies, as a tribune among the legionaries.

*Legatus*] The *Legati* were next to

the General in power, and used to command, by his appointment, some part of the army in the day of battle, and the whole in the General's absence. There were several of them in an army, and the General commonly used them as his counsellors or advisers in all cases of importance or difficulty.

LXVI. *The decisive battle, with the death of Catiline.*

1 *Petreius*] He was afterwards Pompey's lieutenant in Spain.

3 *Ferentariis*] The *Ferentarii* were light armed soldiers, who, before the institution of the *Velites*, used to begin the battle, with the *pila* and other missile weapons. They were so called, *quod ea ferrent, quæ in hostem jacerentur*.

4 *Cum infestis signis*] *Signa infesta* sunt, in hostem versa, ut solent pugnantibus: contra, *versasigna* sunt fugientium.

7 *Integros*] *Integer* has several meanings; it signifies, intire, not broken, in our power. *Status integer rei*, is, when an affair is in such a situation, that it can be either done, or omitted.

exsequ-



exsequabatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam contrâ ac ratus erat magnâ vi tendere, cohortem prætoriam in medios hostis inducit; eos perturbatos, atque alios alibi resistentes, interficit; deinde utrimque ex lateribus adgreditur: Manlius et Fæfulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fufas copias, féque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis, in confertissimos hostes incurrit, ibique pugnans confoditur.

LXVII. Sed confecto prælio, tum verò cerneres, quanta audacia quantâque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam ferè, quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum amissâ animâ corpore tegebat: pauci autem, quos cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullo diversius, sed omnes tamen adversis vulneribus, contiderant. Catilina verò longè à suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulum etiam spirans, ferociâque animi (quam habuerat vivus) in vultu retinens: postremò, ex omni copiâ, neque in prælio neque in fugâ quisquam civis ingenuus captus; ita cuncti suæ hostiâque vitæ juxtâ pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus erat; nam strenuissimus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut graviter vulneratus discefferat. Multi autem, qui è castris visundi aut spoliandi gratiâ processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera, amicorum alii, pars hospitem aut cognatum, reperiebant; fuère item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent: ita variè per omnem exercitum lætitia, mæror, luctus, atque gaudia, agitabantur.

## N O T Æ.

2 Cohortem prætoriam] A General was antiently called *Prætor*, and hence the battalion or company who attended the General as his guard, was called *Prætoria cohors*, and was made up of the stoutest fellows in the army.

LXVII. The field described after the victory, with remarks.

14 Pars hospitem] In the early ages of the world, and even in the time of the Roman commonwealth, there being no public inns, persons that travelled, lodged in private houses, and returned the

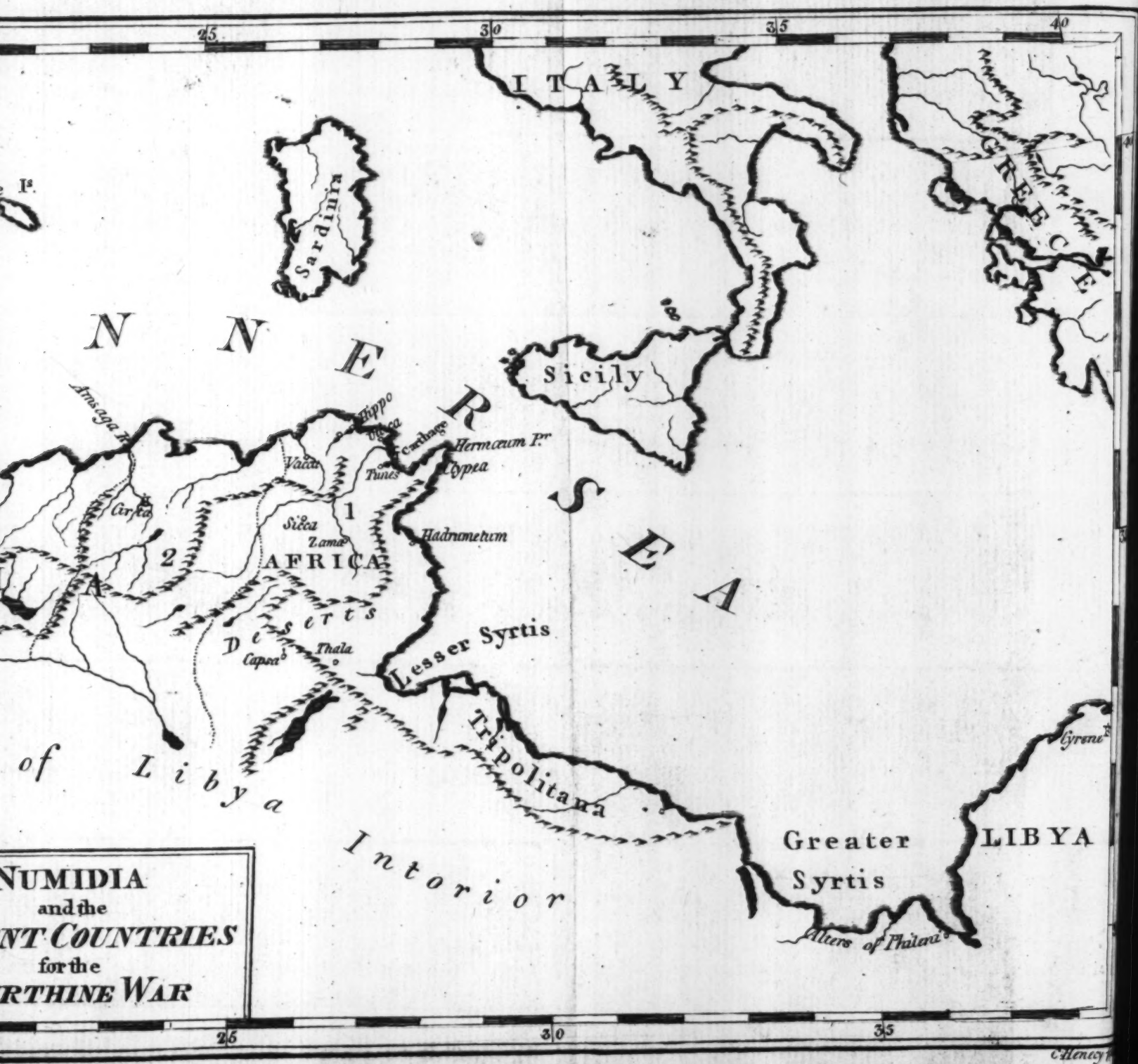
favour, when need required, to those that entertained them. This was frequently the occasion of a very intimate friendship betwixt the parties, insomuch that they esteemed and treated one another as relations. Hence the word *hospes* comes to signify not only a lodger or guest, but an intimate friend or acquaintance, and the word *hospitium* not only lodging or entertainment, but friendship, founded upon that circumstance, and was reckoned one of the most sacred and inviolable ties betwixt man and man.

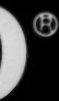












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# CAII CRISPI SALLUSTII BELLUM\* JUGURTHINUM.

## CAPUT I.

**F**ALSO queritur de naturâ suâ genus humanum, quòd imbecille, atque ævi brevis, forte potius quàm virtute regatur : nam contrâ reputando, neque majus aliud neque præstabilius invenias, magisque

### N O T Æ.

\* The *Jugurthine* war, the most dangerous the *Romans* had ever been engaged in, if we except the second *Punic* war, began in the year of *Rome* 642, in the consulship of *P. Scipio Nasica* and *L. Calpurnius Bestia*. As the *Romans* were superstitiously fond of discovering prodigies, before every important event, which concerned the Republic; *Julius Obsequens* informs us, that the greatest part of the city, together with the temple of *Magna mater* or the mother of the Gods, was reduced to ashes, and that it rained milk for the space of three days.

\* The *PREFACE*, containing the Author's motives to the undertaking; in four chapters.

Chap. I. *Virtue the only source of true glory.*

1 *Falso*] Undeservedly. Tho' life be short, it is in every man's power to make such use of his time, as that he may acquire honour and a virtuous reputation. And yet some of the most learned men of antiquity have been so weak, as

to complain of the shortness of its duration. Amongst the rest, *Theophrastus* is said to have exclaimed, at his death, against nature, for granting so long a life to stags and crows, who can make no proper use of it; and shortening the days of man, who, were he allowed sufficient time, would bring all arts and sciences to perfection.

*Imbecille*] Feeble; as it were deprived of its staff or support: a metaphor, taken from weak plants, which require props to support them.

2 *Ævi*] Life. *Ævum* differs from *ætas*, in this; that *ævum* signifies a continued indefinite series, *ætas* a certain portion of time; *seculum* 100 years: yet these three words are frequently used one for the other by the best authors.

*Forte*] By chance. That this was the opinion of *Callisthenes*, appears from a sentence of his, quoted by *Cicero* in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions: *Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia.*

3 *Neque majus aliud*] Philosophers, from a resemblance of the component parts

gisque naturæ industriam hominum, quàm vim aut tempus, deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis viâ grassatur, abundè pollens potènsque et clarus est, neque fortunâ eget; quippe quæ probitatem, industriam, aliâsque artis bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest: sin, captus pravis cupidinibus, ad inertiam & voluptates corporis pessumdatum est, perniciosâ lubricine paullisper usus; ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium diffluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur: suam quique culpam actores ad negotia transferunt. Quòd si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multum etiam periculosa petunt; neque regerentur magis, quàm regerent casus; et eò magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloriâ æterni fierent.

II. Nam, uti genus hominum compositum ex corpore et animâ est; ita res cunctæ studiâque omnia nostra, corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur: igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis, et alia hujuscemodi omnia, brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora,

## N O T Æ.

parts of man to those of the universe, have taken some pains to prove, that man is a perfect *microcosm*, or world in miniature; so that our author seems to have said with some reason, that nothing greater or more excellent than man can be found.

1 *Industriam*] Diligence and care assisted by prudence.

2 *Vim*] Put for *vires*, power.

3 *Grassatur*] Rushes with vigour.

4 *Pravis*] Vicious. In the literal meaning, *prævus* signifies distorted or deformed, and is used in opposition to *rectus* straight; in its moral sense, one who, through mistaken notions, turns aside from the paths of virtue, and is harmful only to himself. In this it differs from *malus*, that the latter signifies to be vicious by inclination, and noxious to others.

5 *Inertiam*] Sloth. It comes from *in ære*, without any trade or profession; and, as persons, who have no occupation, generally lead an idle life, *inertia* is used to denote idleness or sloth.

*Pessumdatum est*] Some take *pessum* to be an adverb, derived from *pes*, signifying *sub pedibus*, or *under foot*; but *Curtius* will have it to be the supine of the old verb *petior*. His words are, *Male pessum pro adverbis habent; non multo melius*

*pro nomine*, fundam denotante: cum sit *supinum* ab antiquo verbo *petior*, h. e. *subigore, pedibus calcor*. Dicitur ut *venum, victum, passum dare*, & similia.

*Perniciosâ*] Destructive; it is derived of *per* & *neco*.

7 *Per socordiam*] Through a slothful neglect. *Socordia* signifies the indolence of the mind, as *inertia* does that of the body; *quasi sine corde*.

9 *Ordo*.—Quod si tanta cura bonarum rerum esset hominibus, quanto studio petunt aliena ac nihil profutura, etiam multam periculosa, neque regerentur magis casibus, quam regerent casus; et homines procederent eo magnitudinis, ubi fierent pro mortalibus æterni gloriâ.

10 *Aliena*] Things foreign to them.

12 *Ubi pro mortalibus*] That instead of mortals.

II. *The superiority of the mind above the body.*

3 *Præclara facies*] This does not so much mean the beauty of the face, as of the whole person taken together; what the French call *la bonne mine*, *la belle prestance*.

4 *Egregia facinora*] The noble productions.



facinoræ, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis & fortunæ bonorum, uti initium, sic finis est: omniæque orta occidunt, et aucta fenescunt; animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt; cæterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in naturâ mortalium est, incultu atque socordiâ torpescere sinunt; cum præsertim tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum, minumè mihi hac tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes, quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; cum præsertim omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliæque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quærere, extremæ dementiæ est; nisi fortè quem inhonesta et perniciofa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

K 2

IV. Ce-

N O T Æ.

2 *Omniaque orta occidunt*] Every thing, that had a beginning, must have an end. This was the opinion of some of the ancient philosophers; and, if they allowed immortality to the soul, it was only, because they believed, it existed from eternity, and was an emanation from God himself; a doctrine, which took its rise from *Orpheus*.

3 *Agit atque habet cuncta*] Rules and comprehends all things.

4 *Ordo*.—Quo magis pravitas eorum est admiranda, qui, dediti gaudiis corporis, agunt ætatem per luxum atque ignaviam: cæterum sinunt ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius est aliud in naturâ mortalium, torpescere incultu atque socordia; præsertim cum tam multæ & variz artes animi sint, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

7 *Incultu*] Through neglect, properly through want of cultivation.

III. *State affairs, in Sallust's time, unsafe and disagreeable objects of pursuit to an honest mind.*

1 *His*] Sc. *artibus*.

*Imperia*] *Imperium*, among the Romans, was the Consulate or Prætorship, or else a public employment in the provinces, with the command of an army. He, who was in this latter station, was said, *esse cum imperio*.

3 *Quibus per fraudem jus fuit*] Who obtained their employments by dishonest means.

4 *Tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt*] Safe or esteemed more honourable. *Tuti*, either because they were liable to be called to account for their fraudulent practices; or that it was dangerous, to be raised to a high station in such fadious times of the Republick. *Honesti*, because every body knew, by what methods they had risen to power.

5 *Importunum est*] It is disagreeable and unsafe; *quasi sine portu*, for it is inconvenient and dangerous, sailing on a sea that has no harbour.

6 *Fugam*] Banishment.

9 *Decus atque libertatem suam gratificari*] To sacrifice his honour and liberty, without any hopes of advantage.

IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum; cujus de virtute, quia multi dixere, prætereundum puto; simul, ne per insolentiam quis existimet, memet studium meum laudando extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui (quia decrevi procul à republicâ ætatem agere) tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certè, quibus maxuma industria videtur, salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quærere: qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratum adeptus sim, et quales

‘ viri

# NOTÆ.

IV. *History, a worthy employment of the mind.*

1 *Ordo.*—Cæterum memoria rerum gestarum est ex aliis negotiis, quæ exercentur ingenio, in primis magno usui: de cujus virtute quia multi dixere, ego puto prætereundum; simul, ne quis existimet memet per insolentiam extollere laudando meum studium.

2 *Memoria rerum gestarum*] A monument of past transactions; i. e. history.

*Cujus de virtute*] Of the excellency of which. Cicero calls history the evidence of time, the light of truth, the mistress of life, and the messenger of antiquity.

3 *Quis*] Any one.

4 *Aique ego credo fore*] And I believe there will be some.

7 *Salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quærere*] To caress the common people, and court their favour by entertainments. It was customary with the Roman candidates for public employments, to go about the streets, and from house to house to solicit votes. They were attended by a Nomenclator; whose business it was, to inform them of the names of all those they met; for, not to know the person's name whose interest was requested, would be taken as a mark of disrespect, the least suspicion of which was sufficient to disappoint the hopes of the greatest men in the Republic. Of this we have two very remarkable instances in the persons of *Scipio Nasica* and *Cato*.—The former, who was esteemed the best man of his time, suing for an employment, met a countryman in the street, who was come to be present at the *comitia*. After the usual salutations, *Scipio* taking him by the hand, and finding it very hard with labour, *what, my honest friend, said he, dost walk upon thy hands?* This piece of raillery so exasperated the haughty pea-

sant, that he exerted all his influence, and found means to have *Scipio* rejected. And *Cato*, who was universally allowed to be the most virtuous man that ever Rome produced, lost the Prætorship; because he thought it beneath him, to cringe to the populace for their favour.—Another method of acquiring popularity, was by giving public entertainments to the people; and to such profuseness was this liberality carried, that *Julius Cæsar* is said to have treated the whole Roman people at a time, and to have employed twenty two thousand beds or couches at the feast.

8 *Magistratum adeptus sim*] *Sallust*, when a young man, had been *Quæstor*; and in the year of *Rome* 702 (when public affairs were in such disorder, that *Rome* had been eight months without any magistrate, and *Pompey* had been made Consul without a colleague) he was elected *Tribune* of the commons. When the civil wars broke out, he took part with *Cæsar*, and was by him made *Quæstor* a second time, and afterwards *Prætor*. He attended *Cæsar* in his expedition into *Africa*, where he acquired the wealth which he afterwards laid out upon the famous gardens, called from his name *horti Sallustiani*.

*Quales viri*] It is probable that, among others, he means *Cato*; whose suit for the Prætorship, as mentioned before, was rejected. But, notwithstanding *Sallust*'s rhetorical flourishes, it was well known, he was himself one of the most rapacious magistrates, that *Rome* ever sent to the Provinces: witness his expulsion out of the senate, for his extortions during his *Quæstorship*; and the immense wealth, he afterwards carried back with him from *Africa*, which he governed when *Prætor*.

'viri idem assequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint,' profectò existimabunt, me magis merito quàm ignaviâ judicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quàm ex aliorum negotiis reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audi, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros, solitos ita dicere, 'cùm majorum imagines intuerentur, *vehemētissimè*

## N O T Æ.

1 *Quæ genera hominum*] An expression of contempt; for some of the very dregs of the people were at this time admitted into the senate.

3 *Otia mea*] My retirement. There is a distinction to be made between *otium honestum* and *otium turpe*. The former is when a person employs his leisure time in some laudable study, as Sallust designs to spend his in writing history: the latter when all manner of labour and exercise is avoided, and sloth and idleness indulged.

4 *Negotiis*] Compounded of *ne* and *otium*.

*Nam sæpe audi*] He shews the use of history, and consequently the advantage that will accrue to the state from his own writings.

5 *Q. Maxumum*] The *Fabii*, the most noble and powerful family in Rome, pretended to derive their origin from *Hercules*. In the infancy of the Republick, they engaged, with their clients and slaves, to maintain the war against the *Veientes*; and, having built a fort near the river *Cremera*, were, after several successful skirmishes against the enemy, drawn into an ambuscade, where they were cut off to a man. According to *Livy*, there was but one boy of the name left in the city, because unable to bear arms; from whom sprung four families of the *Fabii*, distinguished by the surnames of *Vibulani*, *Ambusti*, *Maximi*, and *Pictores*. The *Vibulani* probably took their name from *Vibo*, now *Monte Leone*, a city built by *Hercules* in *Bruttii* or the further *Calabria*: the *Ambusti*, from *Fabius Eburnus*, who was struck dead with thunder; *salmine ambustus*: the *Maximi*, from *Q. Fabius Rullianus*, the greatest hero of his age; who, by incorporating the lowest class of the people (who, before his Censorship, had been dispersed among all the tribes) into four separate tribes, which he called *tribus urbanae*, gained a name, that his great-

est victories had not procured him: finally the *Pictores* were called so from *Q. Fabius*, who got the name of *Pictor* for having painted the temple of *Health*. The *Fabius*, meant here, is he; who, in the second *Punic* war, after the battle of *Thrasimene*, by declining an engagement with *Annibal*, gave the *Romans* time to recover from their terror, and to make new preparations against that fierce enemy. *Ennius* celebrates his military skill in this line;

*Unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

*P. Scipionem*] There were two of this name, equally famous for their noble achievements. The first, descended from one of the Patrician branches of the *Cornelian* family, got the surname of *Africanus*, for his victory over *Annibal* and the reduction of *Carthage*. The second, the son of *Paulus Æmilius*, and adopted grandson of the former, by the destruction of the same *Carthage* merited the surname, derived to him from his adoptive grandfather; as he gained that of *Numantinus*, for having razed, after a war of 20 years, *Numantia*, a city of *Old Castile* in *Spain*, supposed to have stood, where now is a small village called *Garay Pens*.

6 *Majorum imagines*] It was a privilege and honour, peculiar to the nobility, or such as had borne *curule* offices, to be allowed to erect statues for themselves. These statues were set up in the *area* or entrance to their houses, and kept with great care by their posterity. A nobleman valued himself upon having a great number of them, as being an evidence of the antiquity of his family: and such a person is, in *cap. lxxxv.* called *homo multarum imaginum*. Hence they, who had the images of their ancestors, were stiled *nobiles*; they, who had only their own, *novi homines*; and such, as had no images, *ignobiles*. These images on festival days were exposed to view, decked

'mentissumè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi: scilicet, non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit.' At contrâ, quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industriâ, cum maioribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quàm bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde, quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujusmodi, per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint; ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum qui ea sustinent virtus est. Verùm ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurthâ Rege Numidarum gessit; primùm quia magnum et atrox variâque victoriâ fuit, dein quia tum primùm superbiz nobilitatis obviam itum est: quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiz

pro-

## N O T Æ.

decked in the different ornaments of the dignities they had been honoured with; and, at the funerals of relations, were carried to the *Rostra*, clothed in the *Prætexta*, if they had been Consuls or commanded armies, in purple if Censors: but if they had triumphed, they wore robes interwoven with gold; and were carried in a triumphal chariot, preceded by the fasces, axes, and other ensigns of their office. For this account we have the authority of Polybius, lib. 6.

1 *Ceram*] The wax, of which the images were made

4 *Eorum*] Sc. *Majorum*.

*Ordo*.—At contra, quis omnium est his moribus, quin contendat cum maioribus suis divitiis & sumptibus, non probitate neque industriâ? Etiam homines novi, qui erant soliti antevenire antea nobilitatem per virtutem, nituntur ad imperia & honores potius furtim, & per latrocinia, quàm bonis artibus.

5 *His moribus*] Of such dispositions.

*Divitiis et sumptibus*] Here he brands two opposite vices, avarice and prodigality; avarice in accumulating riches, prodigality in lavishing them.

7 *Nobilitatem antevenire*] To outstrip

the nobility: to be preferred to them on account of their virtue.

8 *Furtim et per latrocinia*] *Furtim*, by fraudulent practices; *latrocinia*, by purchasing votes with the plunder they had amassed during the civil wars.

12 *Ad inceptum redeo*] Compound verbs are frequently used much in the same sense as their *simples*; and *redeo* must be taken so here, since our author cannot be said to return to that, which, properly speaking, he had not yet begun. *Re* in composition has five significations: 1. *Against*, as *renovo*; 2. *In return*, as *redamo*; 3. *Back*, as *respicio*; *redto*; 4. *Against*, as *reclor*; 5. The same as the *English* *propose* *ion* *un*, as *reservo*, to unlock, *retego* to uncover.

INTRODUCTION; the Reign of *Micipsa*, in six chapters

V. *Micipsa* succeeds *Masiniissa*.

2 *Variâque victoriâ fuit*] *Varia* dicitur, quod apud Jugurtham modò, modò apud Romanos fuit.

3 *Obviam itum est*] Sc. *a Mario*; a neuter passive.

4 *Quæ contentio*] Between the Patricians and Plebeians.



processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem facerent. Sed, priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam; quo, ad cognoscendum, omnia illustria magis inagisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo (quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiae opes maxumè attriverat) Masinissa Rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione

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1 *Studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem facerent*] War and the desolation of Italy put an end to their domestic animosities. Never, perhaps, did so trifling a cause give rise to such a bloody war, as that which was carried on with equal animosity between Marius and Sylla. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, to whom Jugurtha had fled for refuge, resolving to deliver this prince into the hands of the Romans, desired that Sylla in particular, who was then Quæstor to Marius, might be sent to receive him: he afterwards made a present to the Roman people of some statues of victory, attended with a grouse of gold, representing himself in the action of delivering Jugurtha. These statues were placed in the capitol: at which Marius (thinking such a monument would eclipse his own glory) was so incensed, that he conceived an implacable hatred to Sylla, which was much augmented, by the great honour this young Roman acquired in the war against the Cimbri and Teutones; but did not flame forth, until the command of the army, that was to march against Mithridates king of Pontus, was conferred upon Sylla: It was then his absence gave Marius an opportunity, to wreak his vengeance upon the Patrician faction, who favoured his adversary. Sylla upon his return, being declared perpetual Dictator, repaid the cruelty of Marius, by proscribing all his adherents; nor did the slaughter cease, until Italy was in a great measure depopulated, and Rome drenched in blood. Sylla having regulated the commonwealth as he thought proper, laid down the Dictatorship, and died peaceably at Puteoli, a city of Campania, now called Puz-  
zoli.

3 *Repetam*] I will trace back.  
*Ad cognoscendum*] i. e. ut cognoscatur.

4 *Bello Punico secundo*] The Romans were engaged in three different wars with the Carthaginians; in the second of which,

the latter were commanded by Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca. When but nine years old, he was sworn by his father at the foot of the altars, never to be reconciled to the Romans; and, being afterwards promoted to the command of the army in Spain, he began the war by the sacking of Saguntum, now *Morvedro*, a city of the kingdom of Valencia, then in alliance with the Romans: from thence he marched his army over the Alps into Italy, defeated his enemies in several bloody battles, besieged their capital, carried on the war sixteen years in the heart of their country: but was at length obliged to return to Africa, to make head against Scipio, by whom he was conquered at the battle of Zama. He soon after, through the ingratitude of his countrymen, was forced to fly for shelter to Antiochus, who was at that time making preparations for a war against the Romans. This prince being defeated, he took refuge in the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, where, fearing he should be delivered into the hands of his enemies, he put an end to his own life by poison.

5 *Pest magnitudinem nominis Romani*] Since the Romans came to be great, and make a figure in the world: For, during their infant state, they had met with as great, nay greater calamities; particularly from the Gauls, who burnt Rome.

6 *Masinissa rex Numidarum*] Syphax and Masinissa were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called *Masesyli*, and their capital was *Cirta*; those of Masinissa were the *Massyli*. But these nations are better known by the name of *Numidians*, which was common to them both. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry; they always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles; and hence Virgil, *Æn. IV. v. 41.* calls them *Namidae infræni*. Syphax, in the beginning of the second Punic war, took  
part

pione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quæ, victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africâ magnum atque latè imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascunque urbis et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit: igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permansit; sed imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum so-

lus

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part with the *Romans*: but afterwards, upon marrying the famous *Sophonisba*, the daughter of *Asdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, he changed sides, and joined the *Carthaginians*. *Gala*, the father of *Masinissa*, had, some years before this, entered into a war against *Syphax*; the consequence of which was, that *Masinissa* (after his father's death, and his own return from *Spain*; where he had made an alliance with *Scipio*, to which he ever after adhered with the utmost zeal and constancy) was reduced to the brink of ruin, being driven from his kingdom, and destitute of forces, money, and almost all things else. When *Lælius* arrived in *Africa*, *Masinissa* joined him with a few horse; his misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that General. Soon after this a great battle was fought, wherein *Syphax* was defeated, taken prisoner by *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, brought in chains to *Scipio*, carried afterwards to *Rome*, made to adorn the triumph; and was then put in prison, and starved to death, as a just reward of his treachery. *Masinissa*, the victor, besieged *Cirta* his capital, and took it: But he met with a greater danger in that city, than he had faced in the field; and this was *Sophonisba*, whose charms he was unable to resist: he therefore married her forthwith; but a few days after was obliged to send her a dose of poison, as her nuptial present: this being the only way left him, to keep his promise with his queen, viz. not to deliver her up to the *Romans*; and to satisfy *Scipio*, who was highly displeased with the marriage. *Sophonisba* swallowed the deadly dose, and expired. After the second *Punic* war, *Masinissa* was favoured till his death with an uninterrupted series of prosperity. *Scipio*, as a reward of his good services, not only restored him his own kingdom, but added to it that of *Syphax* his enemy; so that he became the most powerful prince in all *Africa*, his dominions extending from *Mauritania* as far as *Cyrene*. He was

blessed with the greatest health and vigour of constitution, and lived to upwards of ninety years of age. He died about a year before the destruction of *Carthage*; and much about the same time died at *Rome* *Cato* the renowned moralist. See the life of this prince more at large in *Rollin's* history of the *Carthaginians*.

1 *P. Scipione*] The conqueror of *Annibal* and of *Carthage*. At the age of 24, he took the command of the army in *Spain*, where his father and uncle had been lately killed, and in a short time drove all the *Carthaginians* out of that country. He afterwards with an army, composed mostly of volunteers, contrary to the advice of *Fabius*, passed over into *Africa*; and, by a glorious victory, put an end to the war.

4 *Manu ceperat*] i. e. *pugnando ceperat*.

*Regi dono dedit*] *Scipio* in presence of the whole army presented *Masinissa* with the ensigns of royalty, and saluted him king. He was afterwards, by a decree of the senate, put in possession of all the territories the *Romans* had conquered in *Africa*.

5 *Ordo*.—Igitur amicitia Masinissæ permansit nobis bona atque honesta: sed idem fuit finis imperii ejus, & vitæ ejus.

6. *Imperii vitæque finis idem fuit*.] Some have taken these words to import only, that *Masinissa* continued to be king of *Numidia* till his death: But this sense is trifling. The true meaning is, that the grant of the dominions made to him by the *Romans* was only during his own life, and did not descend to his son. Accordingly we find that *Micipsa* had only that part of *Numidia*, which antiently belonged to his father; but *Cirta* and the other parts of *Numidia*, which had been taken from *Syphax*, were, upon the death of *Masinissa*, reduced by the *Romans* into the form of a province.

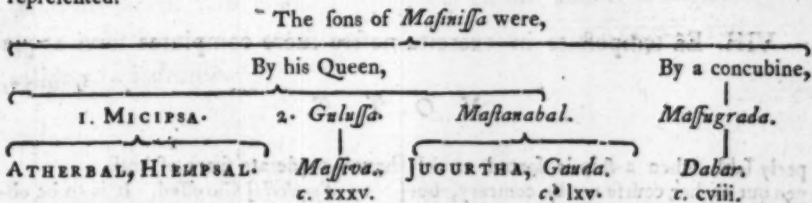
*Micipsa filius*] *Masinissa* had 44 sons, or (as some say) 54; of whom three only

lus obtinuit, Manastabale et Gulusâ fratribus morbo absumentis: is Atherbalem et Hiempfalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque filium Manastabalis fratris, quem Masinissa (quod ortus ex concubinâ erat) privatim reliquerat, eodem cultu quo liberos suos domi habuit.

VI. Qui, ubi primùm adolevit, pollens viribus, decorâ facie, sed multò maxumè ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiae corrum- pendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare; et cum omnis gloriâ anteiret, omnibus ta- men carus esse: ad hoc, plerâque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut in primis ferire; plurimùm facere, et minumùm ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio læ- tus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore; ta- men, postquam hominem adolescentem, exactâ ætate suâ, et parvis li- beris, magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer eo negotio per- motus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura morta- lium, avidâ imperii et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem; præ- terea opportunitas suæque liberorumque ætatis, quæ etiam mediocres viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Ju- gurtham

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only were legitimate. His family, as far as taken notice of by *Sallust*, may be thus represented.



VI. *Jugurtha's character; and Micipsa's apprehensions of him.*

2 *Luxu*] A dative case; it was usual with the Romans to make the dative case of the fourth declension end in *u*.

4 *Cum omnis gloria antiret*] *Tho' he surpassed them all in glory*, a rare instance of modesty in *Jugurtha*, who could escape envy, which commonly persecutes superior merit.

5 *Agere*] There is not in the latin language a word of so extensive a significati- on as this: not a situation in life, not an action but it may be applied to; it may be used even to signify our very inaction as *agere otium*.

6 *Facere*] *Facere* properly is to give a

form to any thing; *faciem quandam indu- cere*; hence, the word *facies* is derived, a *faciendo*, but it is used upon almost innum- erable occasions.

*Ordo.*—Quibus rebus tametsi Micipsa fuerat lætus initio; existimans virtutem Ju- gurthæ fore regno suo gloriæ: tamen post- quam, ætate sua exacta, & liberis parvis, intelligit hominem adolescentem magis & magis crescere, permotus vehementer eo negotio, volvebat multa cum animo suo.

13 *Opportunitas*] *Micipsa* was old, and his children young; consequently neither fit for war.

14 *Transvorsos agit*] *Transvorsum agere*, is to turn one out of his road to the right or left; and *navis transvorsa agitur* is pro- perly

gurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et appetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare: igitur bello Numantino Micipsa, cum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostendendo virtutem, vel hostium sævitiâ, facile eum occasurum, præfecit Numidis, quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longè aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit: nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore multaque curâ, præterea modestissimè parendo et sæpe obviâ eundo periculis, in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat; uti nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset: ac sanè (quod difficillimum in primis est) et prælio strenuus erat et bonus consilio; quorum alterum ex providentiâ timorem, alterum ex audaciâ temeritatem afferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnis ferè res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat: Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii solertia, quibus rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Eâ tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles,

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perly said, when a ship is forced or driven out of her course not by contrary, but by side-winds.

VII. *The measures taken by Micipsa in order to get rid of Jugurtha.*

8 *Ac ratus erat*] Than he had imagined.

*Impigro*] Active.

14 *Et Prælio strenuus erat et bonus consilio*] He was both valiant in battle, and wise in council. It is extremely difficult to shine both in the field and the cabinet; for boldness seems to be incompatible with prudence. *Servius* remarks upon this passage, that men of a warm constitution, such as the *Africans*, have more prudence than valour; those of a cold one, as the *Germans*, more valour than prudence: but that men whose blood runs temperate, as it does with the *French*,

have a moderate share of both.

17 *Amplecti*] Caresed. It is to be observed that the *infinitive mood*, in narratives, when preceded by a nominative case, may very well be translated into a præter imperfect tense of the *indicative mood*, as that tense of some other verb is always understood.

18 *Huc accedebat*] To these were added.

19 *Solertia*] Properly signifies a thorough knowledge of any thing; *quasi Solæ*, id est: *totius et integræ artis cognitio*: hence *ingenii Solertia* signifies that perfect command of temper, which enables us to accommodate ourselves to any character.

VIII. *Jugurtha's reputation and interest in the Roman army.*

1 *Novi atque nobiles*] Vid. note 6. p. 69.



nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magis quam honesti; qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, ‘ si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperii Numidiæ potiretur: in ipso maxumam virtutem; Romæ omnia venalia esse.’ Sed postquam Numantiâ deletâ P. Scipio dimittere auxilia et ipse revorti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnificè pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium adduxit: ibique secreto monuit, *uti potius publicè quàm privatim amicitiam populi Romani coleret, neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculosè à paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantiùs pergeret, suamet ipsum pecuniâ præcipitem casurum.*

IX. Sic locutus, cum literis eum quas Micipsæ redderet dimisit; earum sententia hæc erat. *Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longè maxima virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certò scio gaudio esse. Nobis ob merita sua carus est; ut idem senatui populoque Romano sit, summâ ope nitimur. Tibi quidem pro nostrâ amicitia gratulor: en habes virum dignum te atque avo suo Masinissâ.* Igitur Rex, ubi ea quæ famâ acceperat ex literis Imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cum virtute tum gratiâ viri permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere aggressus est; statimque eum adoptavit, et testamento pariter cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cum sibi finem vitæ adesse intelligeret, coram amicis et cognatis, itemque Atherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurthâ habuisse.

L 2

X. Par-

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7 Concione] A *conciendo*, i. e. *convocando*. It signified a public assembly, a discourse pronounced before such an assembly, or the pulpit or place where the orator stood.

Prætorium] The general's tent. It was so called because the first Consuls who commanded armies, had the title of Prætors, a *prætorum*, qu. *Prætores*.

8 Publicè, quàm privatim] Jugurtha is here advised to court the favour of the Romans publicè, i. e. of the whole commonwealth by publick and meritorious actions: *potius quàm privatim*, i. e. rather than make application to a few leading men, and bribe them over to his interest, in hopes of raising and aggrandizing him-

self through means of their influence at Rome, and in the senate.

10 Quod multorum esset] What belonged to the whole Roman people, or at least to the senate to bestow; viz. the kingdom of Micipsa.

Suis artibus] Those virtues by which he had already so eminently signalized himself.

IX. The impression Jugurtha's fame made on the mind of Micipsa.

7 Gratiâ] His interest with the Romans.

8 Flexit animum suum] Changed his resolution. He had before determined to destroy Jugurtha.

X. Parvum ego te, Jugurtha, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existimans non minus me tibi, quam, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore; neque ea res falsum me habuit: nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissimè rediens Numantià, meque regnūque meum gloriā honoravisti: tuāque virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti: in Hispaniā nomen familiæ renovatum est; postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortalis est, gloriā invidiā viciisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura finem vitæ facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem, moneo obtestorque, uti hos, (qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt) caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere, quàm sanguine conjunctos retinere: non exercitus, neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt; verū amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quàm frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego regnum vobis trado, firmum, si boni eritis; si mali, imbecillum: nam concordiā res parvæ crescunt, discordiā maxumæ dilabuntur. Cæterum, ante hos te, Jugurtha, quia ætate et sapientiā prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat, providere decet: nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, tamen, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Atherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum; imitamini virtutem; et enitimini, ne egā meliores

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X. Micipsa's dying exhortation to Jugurtha and his own sons.

1 Parvum ego te] *Ælius Spartianus* calls this discourse of *Micipsa* divine, and says that the Emperor *Severus*, when on the point of death, sent it to his eldest son.

3 Neque ea res falsum habuit] *Falsum habere, infestum habere, frustra habere, &c.* are circumlocutions, or phrases, of the same import as *fallere, infestare, or infestari, frustrare, &c.*

6 Nomen familiæ renovatum est] The name of *Masniſſa* was well known in Spain, since the time he had assisted, first *Asdrubal*, and then *Scipio*, in their wars in that country; and now the memory of him was renewed by the gallant actions of *Jugurtha* in the same province.

8 Per hanc dextram] We are to suppose that *Micipsa* held *Jugurtha's* hand.

9 Per regni fidem] Literally is, by the honour of royalty, i. e. by the honour

which a king ought to have. *Cortius* comments upon it thus, per fidem, quam in regnum acceptus debes.

10 Fratres] By adoption.

11 Non exercitus, neque thesauri] This is taken from the speech which *Xenophon* supposes *Cyrus* to have made to his sons and friends, a little before his death.

16 Concordiā parvæ rei crescunt, &c.] The conduct of *Scilurus* is an excellent commentary upon this: He had 24 sons, or, as some say, 80, and, on his death-bed, in their presence, called for a sheaf of arrows of the same number, and desired each of them to try to break them; which when none of them could do, he took them one by one, and broke them all to pieces before them; designing thereby to teach them, that unanimity would be their strength and security; and that by division they would be weakened, and rendered an easy prey to enemies.

*meliores liberos sumfisse videar quàm genuisse.* Ad ea Jugurtha, tamen Regem ficta locutum intelligebat, et ipse longè aliter animo agibat, tamen pro tempore benignè respondit. Micipsa paucis pòst diebus moritur.

XI. Postquam illi more regio justa magnificè fecerant, Reguli in unum convenère, ut inter se de negotiis cunctis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minumus ex illis erat, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ (quia materno genere impar erat) despiciens, dexterâ Atherbalem assedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret: dein tamen, ut ætati concederet fatigatus à fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio disserent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit, *oportere quinquennii consulta et decreta omnia rescindi, nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parùm animo valuisse.* Tum idem Hiempsal placere sibi respondit; nam ipsum illum tribus his proxumis annis adoptione in regnum pervenisse: Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altius, quàm quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore irâ et metu anxius, moliri, parare; atque ea modò in animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur: quæ ubi tardiùs procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

## XII Primo

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- 1 *Sumfisse*] To have adopted.
- 2 *Longè aliter*] Sc. ac polliciturus erat.
- 3 *Pro tempore*] Suitable to the occasion.

The rise and original causes of the war in two chapters.

XI. Hiempsal offends Jugurtha.

- 1 *Justa*] The funeral obsequies. They are called *justa*, because it is a duty incumbent upon us to bury the dead, particularly our friends.

*Reguli*] *Jugurtha*, *Atherbal*, and *Hiempsal*, being copartners in the same kingdom, might very well be called *Reguli* or little Kings.

- 3 *Minumus*] Sc. *natus*.

4 *Materno genere*] It has been already said, he was born of a concubine.

*Dexterâ*] Grammarians have taken a deal of pains to determine the place of honour among the *Romans*; some arguing for the right, others for the left hand: but without entering into their disputes, *Salust* makes it plain, that the middle was

most honourable amongst the *Numidians*.

- 6 *Ætati*] *Jugurtha* was the eldest of the three.

7 *Fatigatus*] Importuned.

- 8 *Jacit*] Hints.

9 *Quinquennii consulta et decreta omnia*] Every act and decree of *Micipsa* for the last five years. *Consulta*, nearly answers to the king's proclamation amongst us; *Decreta*, to an act of parliament, which has the force of a law.

- 10 *Parùm animo valuisse*] Had been weak in his intellects.

11 *Ipsum*] *Jugurtham* Scilicet.

14 *Ira et metu*] *Resentment* of the insult he had received, and *fear* of the machinations of *Hiempsal*, who seemed to be of a more enterprising spirit than his brother *Atherbal*.

*Moliri, parare*] *Moliri*, signifies to design or plan; *parare*, to make the necessary preparations for putting that plan in execution.

- 15 *Tardiùs*] Too slowly. An adverb put

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab Regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat 'dividi thesauros, finisque imperii singulis constitui': itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam: reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris alius alio concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmidâ fortè ejus utebatur domo, qui proximus licitor Jugurthæ carus acceptusque ei semper fuerat: quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti (tamquam suam domum vilens eat), portarum claves adulterinas parat; nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur: ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magnâ venturum manu. Numida mandata brevi conficit; atque, uti doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit: qui postquam in ædes erupere, diversû regem quærere; dormientis alios, alios occurrentis interficere; scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere; strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere: cum interim Hiempsal reperitur, occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quò initio pavidus et ignarus loci profugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

## XIII. Cete-

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put absolutely in the comparative degree, may be expressed in English by putting *too* before the positive adverb: but we must observe that the second member of the comparison is cut off by the figure *El-lipsis*, as in the instance before us; *tar-dius quam volebat*. *Tardus*, properly signifies a person who does a thing slowly or heavily, even though he should perform the business within the time allotted; *Se-rus*, him who exceeds the limited time, be his execution ever so quick.

## XII. Hiempsal murdered.

2 *Finisque*] Put for *finisque*, a common practice with Sallust, who piques himself on making use of antiquated phrases and terminations.

3 *Maturius*] An earlier day.

6 *Proximus licitor Jugurthæ*] The Licitors were sergeants, or officers, who attended the chief magistrates of Rome. The Consuls had twelve, the Prætors and Proconsuls six. The chief, prime, or principal one among them did, on publick occasions, walk in the procession last, or next to the magistrate, and was upon that account called *proximus licitor*. But whether Licitors were antiently used in

*Numidia*, or *Jugurtha* had introduced this fashion, in imitation of the Romans, after his return from *Numantia*, or whether our author only accommodates the Latin word to some principal servant of *Jugurtha*, tho' in most respects very different from a Roman Licitor, cannot be easily determined; but certain it is, that the Roman writers, when speaking of other nations, often apply their own terms to things that do no more than faintly resemble the things signified by these terms amongst the Romans.

7 *Ille*] *Jugurtha* Scilicet.

9 *Claves adulterinas*] False keys. The word *Adulterinus* comes from *Adulter*, which is compounded of *ad* & *alter*, *quasi qui alteri, quam ad quem jure pertinet, aliquid dæ*.

10 *Sessum*] *Jugurtham*.12 *Diversi*] Going different ways.

14 *Strepitu & tumultu*] *Strepitus* simply signifies a noise; *Tumultus*, a confused uproar, which is constantly encreasing. It comes from *Tumeo*, to swell.

15 *Mulieris ancillæ*] The same as *mulieris ancillantis*. *Ancilla* comes from the old word *anculare*, to wait upon or serve.



XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur; Atherbalem, omnisque, qui sub Micipsæ imperio fuerant, metus invadit: in duas partis discedunt Numidæ; plures Atherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maxumas potest copias armat: urbis, partim vi, alias voluntate, imperio suo adjungit: omni Numidæ imperare parat. Atherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris et fortunis suis, tamen fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere: sed, ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac dehinc Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patris consiliis, postquam omni Numidiâ potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum; neque adversus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritiâ nobilitatis et pecuniâ suâ, spem habere: itaque paucis diebus cum auro argentoque multo legatos Romam mittit, quos præcipit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant, deinde novos acquirant; postremo quemcumque possint largiendo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed, ubi Romam legati venere, et ex præcepto Regis hospitibus aliisque, (quorum eâ tempestate in senatu auctoritas pollebat) magna munera misere; tanta commutatio incescit, ut ex maximâ invidiâ in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret; quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo nitebantur,

ne

## N O T Æ.

Proceedings in Rome upon the death of *Himpsal*, in four Chapters.

XIII. *Ambassadors sent to Rome.*

3 *Discedunt*] There is this difference between *de* and *di* or *dis* in composition, that *de*, signifies simply from a place; *di* and *dis*, different ways.

4 *Illum alterum*] Our author seems in this place to be fired with an honest indignation. He cannot bear to pronounce the name of *Jugurtha*, but gives us to understand whom he means by the scornful expression, *illum alterum*; as if we should say, *the other villain*.

*Bello meliores*] Probably such as he had endeared himself to in the Spanish war, and their adherents.

5 *Voluntate*] By their own choice.

9 *In provinciam*] Into that part of *Africa*, which the *Romans* had reduced into the form of a province, and was then governed by magistrates sent from *Rome*.

13 *Avaritiâ*] The chief officers of the army had before at *Numantia* given him sufficient encouragement to hope, that every thing could be purchased for money at *Rome*.

15 *Præcipit*] *Præcipere*, is to give orders, with instructions how to execute them; *imperare*, to give commands which must be executed at the peril of the person commanded; *jubere*, to require what will redound to the honour or advantage of the *doer*; *mandare*, to send directions or commands by a third person.

17 *Hospitibus*] The persons to whom *Jugurtha* or they themselves were united by the laws of hospitality; the most sacred of all laws among the Ancients.

19 *Incescit*] Took place, ensued.

21 *Spe*] Hope of rewards from *Jugurtha*.

*Ambiundo*] Going from Senator to Senator to request their interest in his fa-

vour.

ne gravius in eum consuleretur: igitur, ubi legati satis confidunt, die constituto senatus utrisque datur: tum Atherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. *Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens mihi præcepit, uti regni Numidiæ tantummodo procurationem existimarem meam; ceterum jus et imperium ejus penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militi-quam maximo usui esse populo Romano, 'vos mihi cognatorum, vos<sup>2</sup> affinium in locum ducerem; si ea fecissem, in vestrâ amicitia exerci-tum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum.'* Quæ cum præcepta patris mei agitarem, Jugurtha, hominum quos terra sustinet, sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, etiam ab stirpe socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eò miseriarum venturus

eram,

### N O T Æ.

vor. *Ambire* was used by the Romans to signify canvassing for votes, as it was the custom with candidates to go about from house to house for that purpose. It comes from the old preposition *am* or *ama*, the same as *circum*, and *ire*, to go.

1 *Ne gravius in eum consuleretur*] That nothing too severe might be decreed against him.

2 *Senatus*] *Senatum dare*, means what we express by the words, *to give audience*.

XIV. *Atherbal's speech to the senate.*

1 *Ordo*.—O Patres Conscripti, Micipsa pater meus præcepit mihi moriens, uti ego existimarem tantummodo procurationem regni Numidiæ esse meam; ceterum jus, &c imperium ejus esse penes vos.

*Patres conscripti*] *Atherbal* in his *Exordium* artfully endeavours to gain the favour of the senate by two, the most powerful motives that could be used to mankind, viz. *Interest* and *honour*—*Interest*—that country is their own—*Honour*—he is an *Orphan*, the son of their friend, and under their *protection*.

*Micipsa*] He mentions him, because his services to the Roman people were such, that his son might reasonably expect favour from the senate; whereas *Jugurtha* was son to a man who had never been in the least serviceable to them.

2 *Procuracionem*] The *Licutenancy*. *Procuratio*, signifies the managing, or taking care of any thing for another.

3 *Jus et imperium*] *Jus* the fundamental right of governing; *imperium*, the actual sovereignty.

4 *Cognatorum*] Kindred by blood; *affinium*, by marriage.

6 *Quæ præcepta*] The narration, wherein he very concisely represents his own obedience to his father's commands; the villainy of *Jugurtha*; his contempt of the Romans, which he eminently shewed in driving him, their ally and the grandson of *Masinissa*, whose faithful services to the Republic merited their friendship and protection, out of his kingdom.

7 *Sustinet*] This expression is a little hyperbolic, as if the very earth laboured under the weight of such a Monster.

9 *Stirps*] *Stirps* signifies the root or stem; and altho' *Masinissa* was not the first king of his family, yet as he was the first of it who was known to the Romans, *Atherbal* with sufficient propriety denotes him by this expression.

10 *Ordo*] Atque ego, O Patres Conscripti, quoniam eram venturus eo miseriarum, vellem potius me posse petere a vobis auxilium ob mea beneficia, quam ob beneficia majorum meorum, ac velle maxima beneficia debere mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; sed si ea erant desideranda, ego uterer ipsis uti debitis.

*Atque ego*] He laments his hard fate in being obliged to have recourse to the Roman people, before he had merited their

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eram, vellem potius ob mea, quam ob majorum meorum, beneficia posse me à vobis auxilium petere; ac maxumè deberi mihi beneficia à populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer: sed, quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit, *Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus (quod mihi miserrimum est) cogor prius oneri quam usui esse.* Cæteri Reges, aut bello victi in amicitiam à vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus, quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem, Patres conscripti, nolite pati me Nepotem Masinissæ frustra à vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum

nihil

## N O T Æ.

their assistance by any personal services, but at the same time forgets not to hint at those of his ancestors; shews his disinterestedness, by wishing that he had it in his power to confer gratuitous favours upon them; and apologizes for the present application by urging the necessity that compelled him to it; *sed quoniam, &c.*

3 *Secundum*] In the next place, *that is*, my second wish was, that if, &c.

*Ut debitis*] Notwithstanding the censure passed by *Crispinus*, in his *Dauphin's Sallust* upon this passage, I think the expression extremely proper, and that it shews no want either of delicacy or respect in *Atherbal*, but rather a true sense of honour. His first wish is, that he had it in his power to do the *Romans* the most signal services, and at the same time never to be reduced to the necessity of demanding a return; which, as was before observed, is an argument of his disinterestedness and affection for his patrons: his next wish, that if he should have occasion for their aid, he might be entitled to it as his own due, and not as the reward of the merits of his ancestors; if these be not the sentiments of an heart replete with honour and delicacy, I know not where we shall find virtues that deserve the name.

4 *Neque mihi in manu fuit*] In potestate non fuit, h. e. per me non stetit, qualis Jugurtha esset; non potui illum ad observationem justæ & æqui vi adigere.

6 Ordo.—*Cæteri reges recepti sunt in amicitiam a vobis, aut victi bello, aut appetiverunt vestram societatem in suis rebus dubiis.*

*Cæteri Reges,*] The proposition. Other princes have been compelled by force of arms, or by the critical situation of their affairs to court your friendship: my fami-

ly could have no such inducement, they joined you in your greatest distress, when your fortune was at the lowest ebb, and promised no great advantage from the alliance: you are therefore bound in gratitude to protect their descendant. Altho' this be not entirely true, for almost all Spain had been subdued before *Masinissa* had joined *Scipio*, and *Annibal* reduced to very great straits in Italy, yet it recalls to the memory of the senate the immense losses they had sustained during the second *Punic* war, and the constant faith of his grandfather, which he had preserved inviolate, even at the expence of his kingdom.

9 *Ejus*] Sc. *Populi Romani.*

11 *Nepotem Masinissæ*] It is the opinion of some *Critics*, that these words have been interpolated; which is not improbable; for tho' *Sallust* is careful not to introduce to our acquaintance an African prince, haranguing with all the eloquence and precision of a *Roman* orator; yet, if we examine the whole discourse, we shall find rather a studied artlessness, if I may be allowed the expression, in the manner of disposing his arguments, than any impropriety of thought, or inelegance of expression. And altho' *Atherbal* uses, as often as he conveniently can, the name of *Masinissa*, who, he knew, was dear to the *Romans*, yet, as he has mentioned him a little before, and has in this very sentence, the words *quorum progeniem*, it would be mere puerility and a foolish affectation, to be guilty of a tautology, by repeating here, what it was not possible the senate could have so soon forgot. *Qui rationes non probet, meliores afferat.*

*Si ad impetrandum*] The confirmation.

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nihil causæ haberem præter miserandam fortunam; (quod paullo ante Rex, genere, famâ, atque copiis, potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes expecto) tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego iis finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater & avus meus unâ vobiscum expulere Syphacem & Carthaginienses; vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres conscripti, vos in meâ injuriâ despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regniq[ue] participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuæ extinctor sit? Nunquâne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fugâ, versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur; hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat: postquam illa

pestis

## N O T Æ.

The French critic, who seems to pique himself upon his politeness, attacks this passage as a disrespectful manner of asking a favour: but with all due deference to his superior judgment, I shall venture to say that he has overshot the mark. So far from being disrespectful, *Atherbal* could not pay a higher compliment to the Roman people, than to call them the refuge of unhappy princes, the redressers of grievances, the scourge of tyrants. Besides, it is an argument *a fortiori*: if their majesty required of them to refuse succour to no prince in distress, much more did it require that they should protect a friend; if wrongs offered to a stranger called upon their vengeance, what should their indignation be, when one of the sons of *Micipsa* and grandsons of *Masfinissa* had been murdered, and the other deprived of his kingdom, and obliged to fly his country like a wretched exile; if it was incumbent upon them to stop the progress of every man who should attempt to extend his power by villainy; with what patience could they see an allied prince strip, through the monstrous ingratitude of an adopted brother, of those very dominions which their own bounty had granted to his ancestors, as the reward of their signal services?

2. *Ærumnis*.] *Ærumna*, were properly forks, upon which travellers were accustomed to carry their bundles; hence by *Meton*, it signifies toil, hard labour, and by consequence, wretchedness, anguish.

Cicero defines it, laboriosa ægritudo.

3. *Erat majestatis*] Intellige officium.

4. *Neque*] Et ne.

6. *Carthaginienses*.] After the destruction of *Carthage*, a part of its territories was given to those who had assisted the Romans in the war, and the remainder made tributary and a province of the Roman empire; into which a Prætor was annually sent. This was called the Province of Africa.

8. *Despecti estis*.] Are despised; as if he had said, *Jugurtha* would not have dared to attempt such things, did he not despise your power.—This was a very proper argument to be used to such a haughty people as the Romans.

*Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa*] This pathetic apostrophe to his deceased father, caused by the reflection on his unhappy state, naturally leads *Atherbal* to an enumeration of the misfortunes of his family.

*Beneficia tua*] In *Jugurtham*.

11. *Sanguine, ferro, fugâ*] *Masfinissa*, as well as *Atherbal*, had been obliged to fly his kingdom; he afterwards was engaged in a war against the Carthaginians; *Micipsa* served under *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*; *Hicempsal* was murdered by *Jugurtha*.

*Dum Carthaginienses*] He means the war undertaken by *Masfinissa* against the Carthaginians, which served the Romans as a pretext for the third Punic war.

12. *Jure*] Justly, on account of our engagements with the Romans.



pestis ex Africa ejecta est, læti pacem agitabamus; quippe queis hostis nullus erat, nisi fortè quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improvviso Jugurtha, intolerandâ audaciâ, scelere, atque superbiâ, sese efferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo, interfecto, primùm regnum ejus scelexis sui prædâ fecit: pòst, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minùs, quàm vim aut bellum, expectantem, in imperio vestro (sicuti videtis) extorrem patriâ, domo, inopem, & coopertum miseriis, effecit, ut ubivis tutiùs, quàm in meo regno, essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, uti prædicantem audiveram patrem meum; 'qui vestram amicitiam diligenter cole-  
'rent, eos multum laborem suscipere, cæterùm ex omnibus maxumè tutos  
'esse.' Quod in familiâ nostrâ fuit, præstitit, ut in omnibus bellis  
adessent vobis; nos uti per otium tuti simus, in manu vestrâ est, Pa-  
tres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham,  
beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore: alter eorum necatus; al-  
ter ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam, aut quò potissu-  
mùm infelix accedam? generis præsidia omnia extincta sunt: pater,  
utî necesse erat, naturæ concessit; fratri, quem minumè decuit, propin-  
quus per scelus vitam eripuit; affinis, amicos, propinquos cæteros meos,  
aliùm alia clade, oppressit: capti ab Jugurthâ, pars in crucem acti, pars  
bestiis objecti, sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum  
mærore & luctu, morte graviolem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut  
amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent; tamen,  
si quid ex improvviso mali accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti,

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quibus,

## N O T Æ.

1 *Pestis*] Sc. Carthaginienfes.2 *Ecce autem*] There is a particular beauty in this quick transition; it places, in a manner, the object before our eyes; we see *Jugurtha*, lowering with pride, and black with guilt, embrace his hands in his kinsman's blood, and rapaciously seize his kingdom as his prey.6 *Expectantem*] Apprehending.*Imperio vestro,*] Alluding to what he had said in the beginning of his discourse, *jus et imperium penes vos esse.*8 *Ego sic existumabam,*] Second part of the confirmation. As a descendant of your faithful ally, I have always placed the greatest confidence in you. I have neither father, brother, nor relation: he who ought to be my chief support is my only persecutor; all the neighbouring nations are my inveterate enemies, on account of the steadfast zeal of my familyfor your interest; and tho' they were not, yet, in obedience to my grandfather *Massinissa's* advice, I should have recourse to none other but you.10 *Multum laborem*] On account of the numerous enemies the *Romans* were always engaged with.16 *Præsidia*] From *præ* & *sedes*, as it were, to sit between them and danger.17 *Naturæ concessit*] Died a natural death.*Quem*] *Jugurtham.*20 *Bestiis objecti*] It was a common custom with the antients to nail malefactors to a cross, or to throw them to wild beasts to be devoured. Sometimes they subjected them to both these punishments at once.22 *Necessarii*] Are persons united to us either by consanguinity or friendship.

quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus & injurias omnis curæ esse decet : nunc verò exsul patriâ, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quos accedam aut quos appellem ? nationesne, an Reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt ? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint ? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit ? Postremò, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum ; ne societates, ne fœdera nova, acciperemus : ‘abunde magna præsidia nobis in vestrâ amicitia fore ; si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, unâ occidendum nobis esse.’ Virtute ac Diis volentibus magni estis & opulenti, omnia secunda & obedientia sunt ; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parùm cognita, transvorsos agat ; quos ego audio maxumâ ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognitâ causâ, statuatis ; ‘ fingere me verba, et fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere : ’ quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miseras projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam ; & aliquando, aut apud vos, aut apud Deos immortalis, rerum humanarum cura oriatur ; ut ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciat, impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum, gravis pœnas reddat.

## N O T Æ.

1 *Jus et injurias*] Right and wrong : *jus*, is the law of nature, which is common to all mankind ; *lex*, the particular laws of every country, to which all who reside in such country are bound to conform.

2 *Omnium honestarum rerum*] Every thing suitable to my dignity.

12 *Tantum illud vereor*] The *refutation* ; it is short but extremely persuasive. First he obviates the objections that might be made to him, and then refutes them in half a sentence.

13 *Quos*] Some.

*Parum cognita*] He endeavours to soften whatever may seem harsh in the next expression, by supposing if they were thoroughly acquainted with the character of *Jugurtha*, they would not be misguided by his emissaries.

15 *De absente*] Sc. *Jugurthâ*. This was a very specious pretext for deserting sentence ; for nothing seems more unjust than to condemn a man in his absence.

*Fingere*] This verb cannot be taken with *audio*, like the foregoing. We must supply *affirmare*, or some other verb of the same import, and then the sentence will stand thus ; *quos ego audio affirmare me fingere verba*.

17 *Eadem hæc simulantem*] This is a most beautiful turn. *Atherbal* might have made a long detail of the particulars ; instead of which, by this simple thought, he moves the compassion of his audience, and convinces them of his sincerity : and who could refuse him either pity or credit, when he wishes his most cruel enemy no greater misfortune than to be reduced to the necessity of feigning as he feigns ?

18 *Vos, aut—Deos immortales*] He pays the *Romans* a noble compliment. He sees none but the immortal *Gods* and *them* fit to undertake the care of human affairs.

reddat. Jam jam, frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturum, & unde minus decuit, vita erepta est, tamen lætandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem, & omnis has, quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum animâ simul amisisti: at ego infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus, pulsus ex patris regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo; incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens; an regno consulam, cuius vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet: utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, ne vivere contemptus viderer, si desessus malis injuriæ concessissem. Nunc, neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet, sine dedecore; patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes vestros, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi, ite obviam injuriæ; nolite pati, regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus & sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere.

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis quam causâ frêti, paucis respondent: Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Atterbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequisset. Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne se alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset,

## N O T Æ.

1 Jam jam, frater] The peroration. He draws a lively picture of his own distress, and beseeches the senate, by all they held most dear, to relieve him.

2 Lætandum magis, quam dolendum] Rather to be rejoiced than grieved for. These are participles in *duo*, and have a passive signification.

3 Non—regnum] Id est, non tam regnum.

6 Rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo] He very artfully hints to the senate the uncertainty of human affairs, by representing that he, who but a little before was a powerful king, is now reduced to that degree of wretchedness, that the very sight of him is sufficient to teach mankind, how little prosperity is to be depended upon.

7 Cuius] Id est, ego cuius.

8 Ex opibus alienis] Upon the protection of others.

10 Injuriæ concessissem] I should tamely yield to wrongs.

11 Sine dedecore] Without dishonour; because he had his brother's death, together with his own wrongs, to avenge.

Patres conscripti] He enforces his petition by a recapitulation of all the motives he had before urged, the strongest that could operate on a Roman breast; honour and interest: honour in relieving distresses, and punishing crimes; interest in protecting a kingdom that was their own property.

14 Tabescere] To dwindle to nothing.

The resolutions taken in the senate with respect to Africa, in two chapters.

XV. The answer of Jugurtha's ambassadors: different sentiments of the senators on the occasion.

1 Largitione] We have already seen that Jugurtha had given orders to his ambassadors to spare no cost in bribing the most powerful men of the republic; and the consequence shews they obeyed their instructions.

\* *esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent.* Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, præterea magna pars gratiâ depravata, Atherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem laudibus extollere; gratiâ, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere & flagitio, suâ quasi pro gloriâ, nitebantur: at contrâ pauci, quibus bonum & æquum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Atherbali, & Hiempsalis mortem severè vindicandum, censebant; sed ex omnibus maxumè Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum, cæterum vitia sua callidè occultans. Is, postquam videt regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, (quod in tali re solet) ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum à consueta lubricitate continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quæ vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, 'UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ATHERBALEM DIVIDERENT;' cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, & tum in senatu potens, quia Consul, C. Gracco & M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrumè victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat: eum Jugurtha, tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen accuratissimè recepit; dando & pollicendo multa perfecit, uti famæ, fide, postremò omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferreret. Reliquos legatos, eadem viâ aggressus, plerosque capit: paucis carior fides, quàm pecunia fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur; illam alteram, specie, quàm usu,

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1 *Utrique*] The king and the ambassadors.

3 *Gratiâ*] By favour; in favour of those who had declared for *Jugurtha*.

4 *Gratiâ*] By their credit; the influence they have over others.

5 *Alieno scelere*] Another's guilt. Their endeavours to screen the guilt and villainy of *Jugurtha*, were no less than if their own glory was at stake.

6 *Bonum & æquum*] Justice and equity.

10 *Famosam impudentemque*] Infamous and barefaced.

XVI. *Deputies are sent to divide Numidia betwixt Atherbal and Jugurtha.*

5 *C. Graccho*] *Caius Gracchus*, son to *Tiberius* and *Cornelia*, daughter of the elder *Scipio Africanus*, was the most elo-

quent man of his time. He was killed, together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, in a tumult raised by their opposition to the repealing of a law he had got passed for establishing a colony at *Carthage*. His brother *Tiberius* had met with the same fate some years before.

6 *Victoriam*] The bodies of three thousand of the *Plebeians*, who had perished by means of *Opimius*, were, by his orders, thrown into the *Tiber*.

8 *Fide*] The dative case for *fidei*.

11 *Ordo*.—*Ea* pars Numidiæ, quæ opulentior agro & viris, attingit Mauritaniam, traditur *Jugurthæ* in divisione regionis. Atherbal possedit illam alteram, potiorem specie, quàm usu, quæ erat portuosior, & magis exornata ædificiis.



usu, potiorum, quæ portuosior & ædificiis magis exornata erat, Atherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur, Africæ situm paucis exponere; & eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed, quæ loca & nationes ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minùs frequentata sunt, de iis haud facillè compertum narraverim: cætera quàm paucissimis absolvam.

In divisione orbis terræ, plerique in parte tertiâ Africam posuere; pauci, tantummodo Asiam & Europam esse, sed Africam in Europâ. Ea finis habet, ab occidente fretum nostri maris & oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolæ appellant: mare sævum, importuosum; ager, frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infæcundus; cælo terræque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat: ad hoc, malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed, 'qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut 'quo modo inter se permixti sint:' (quamquam ab eâ famâ, quæ plerosque obtinet, divorsum est: tamen, ut ex libris Punicis, qui Regis Hiempsalis

## N O T Æ.

1 Portuosior] More abounding in sea ports.

A description of *Africa*, its climate and inhabitants in three Chapters.

XVII. *Africa described.*

4 Compertum] Certain.

6 Ordo.—Plerique posuere in divisione orbis terræ Africam in tertia parte: pauci dixerunt, Asiam & Europam esse tantummodo; sed dixerunt Africam esse in Europa.

7 Esse] Sub. voluerunt.

8 Ea] *Africa*; at present it is separated on the east from *Asia*, by the Isthmus of *Suez* and the *Red Sea*; and on all other sides is encompassed by the ocean. The Antients knew only the northern parts of it, with a little of *Ethiopia*; the rest they imagined uninhabitable, because it lay in the Torrid Zone.

Fretum nostri maris] The Straights of *Gibraltar*. Straights are called in Latin *fretum*, on account of the violence of the current in such places; the word comes from *ferreo*, to boil, to work or ferment: nostri maris, the *Mediterranean*.

Oceani] The *Atlantic* ocean.

9 Declivem latitudinem] A declining spacious tract.

Catabathmon] From *Katabaino* descending.

10 Mare] Sc. *Lybicum*, a part of the *Mediterranean*.

Importuosum] Badly provided with harbours.

11 Cælo, terræque] By *cælo*, he means rain water, by *terrâ*, springs.

14 Malefici generis] Of a noxious kind, such as serpents, &c.

15 Ordo.—Qui mortales habuerint initio Africam, & qui accesserint postea, aut quo modo sint permixti inter se: quanquam est divorsum ab eâ famâ, quæ obtinet plerosque, tamen: dicam, ut interpretatum est nobis ex libris Punicis, qui dicebantur esse regis Hiempsalis, utique cultores terræ ejus putant rem habere sese.

Habuerint] Id est, habitaverint.

17 Punicis] *Carthaginian*. The *Carthaginians* were in Latin called *Pani*, the same as *Phæni*, *Phœnicians*, because the *Phœnicians* had transplanted a colony into that part of *Africa*.

Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant,) quàm paucissimis dicam: ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli & Libyes, asperi, incultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus: hi neque moribus, neque lege aut imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coëgerat sedes habebant. Sed, postquam in Hispaniâ Hercules (sicut Afri putant) interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso duce, ac passim multis sibi quique imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur: ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, & Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere;

### NOTÆ.

3 *Penes auctores*] Let the authors answer for the credibility of it.

XVIII. *An account of the inhabitants of Africa.*

1 *Gætuli*] The *Gætulians* antiently inhabited that part of *Libya Interior*, which lay between *Mauritania* and the river *Niger*: they had no fixed habitation, but extended even into *Mauritania*, *Fingitana* and *Cæsariensis*, where they joined the *Romans* in their wars against the *Mauri*. *Libya Interior* contained what is now called *Zaara* or the *Desart*, and *Nigritia*.

*Libyes*] *Libya* comprehended *Marmarica*, *Cyrenaica*, both along the coast of the *Mediterranean*; and south of them *Libya propria*. These three provinces make at present the kingdom and desart of *Barca*. Sometimes all *Africa* has been called by the name of *Lybia*.

2 *Humi pabulum*] Herbs.

4 *Vagi, palantes*] Wandering and straggling in a disorderly manner: *Palor* is a military expression taken from *palus*, a stake; and is used to denote straggling, because soldiers when cutting stakes for ramparts or other fortifications, left their ranks and observed no order.

In *Hispaniâ Hercules*—*interiit*] Good authors assure us, that the old famous *Hercules*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*, returned safe from *Spain*. But there were many called by this name among the antients. *Cicero* reckons up six, and *Varro* no less than forty four. It is no wonder then there should be differ-

ent accounts of the place and time of their death. But the glory of all their heroic achievements is ascribed to one.

6 *Quique*] As the learned and accurate Mr. *Thomas Ruddiman* has, in his *Rudiments*, p. 25, observed, that the relative pronoun *qui, quæ, quod*, has frequently *qui* in the ablative, and that in all genders and numbers; so *quique* is here an ablative, being the same with *quoque* or *quibusque*.

7 *Medi*] *Media*, a kingdom of *Asia*, now called *Maday*, was bounded on the north, by the *Caspian* sea; on the west, by *Armenia Major*; on the south, by *Persis*, *Susana*, and part of *Assyria*; and on the east, by *Partha* and *Hyrtania*. It was divided into two great provinces, viz. *Atropatia*, or *Media Atropatene*, and *Media Magna*, and comprehended all that tract of country, which is now called *Arderbeizan*, *Gilan*, *Tabestan* or *Mazanderan*, and part of *Yeræ Agemi*. It is subject to the *Soppies* of *Persia*. Its capital was *Ecbatana*, supposed to be *Tauris*.

*Persæ*] *Persia*, a country of *Asia*, was bounded on the north, by *Media*; on the west, by the river *Tigris*; on the south, by the *Persian* gulf, and on the east, by *Gedresia* and *Drangiana*, provinces of *Arta*. It is called by the inhabitants *Farfi* or *Farfistan*. The capital city was *Persepolis*, long since destroyed.

8 *Armenii*] *Armenia* was divided into two provinces, distinguished by the appellations of *Major* and *Minor*. *Armenia Major*, now *Turcomania*, was bound-

occupavere; sed Persæ intra Oceanum magis: hique alveos navium inavorfos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi aut mutandi copia erat; mare magnum & ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gætulos secum miscuere; &, quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas appellavere: cæterum adhuc ædificia Numidarum agræstium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem & Armeniis accessere Libyes; nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magis, haud procæl ab ardoribus: hique maturè oppida habuere; nam freto divisi ab Hispaniâ, mutare res inter se instituerant: nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbarâ linguâ Mauros, pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit: ac postea Nomo-Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possidere ea loca, quæ proxima Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Deinde utri-

que

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ed on the north, by *Iberia* and *Albania*; on the west, by *Armenia Minor*, from which it was divided by the river *Euphrates*; on the south, by mount *Taurus*; and on the east, by *Media*. *Artaxata*, the metropolis, was built by *Annibal* the Carthaginian. *Armenia Minor*, was bounded on the north and west, by the mountains *Taurus* and *Antitaurus*; on the south, by *Syria*; and on the east by the river *Euphrates*, which divided it from *Armenia Major*. Its chief town was *Nicopolis*, built by *Pompey*. This whole country is subject to the Grand Seigneur.

1 *Persæ intra oceanum magis*] The place our author points at is the coast of *Africa* without the streights of *Gibraltar*, where, the land upon the shore bending outward, the *Atlantick* ocean seems to embrace and enfold the country, as it were within its arms.

2 *Materia in agris*] He has before said, *arbori insæcundus*.

6 *Numidas*] The inhabitants of *Numidia*, now the kingdom of *Algiers*, were named *Numidæ* from *νισσι*, to feed, either because their chief wealth consisted in their flocks, or that they strolled about and fed, like cattle, upon the herbs of the field.

7 *Mapalia*] It properly signifies the huts of husbandmen, so called by the *Numidians* from the word *Palea* or *Pales*,

which in the *Syrian* tongue means an husbandman.

9 *Hi*] Sc. *Libyes*.

*Propius*] The comparative degree of the preposition *prope*; it governs *mare Africum* in the accusative.

*Mare Africum*] The *Mediterranean*.

*Sub sole magis*] The *Gatilians* bordered upon the torrid zone.

10 *Hique*] Sc. *Medi & Armenii*.

11 *Freto*] The Streights of *Gibraltar*.

*Mutare res inter se*] To exchange commodities with one another. Before the use of money was known, traffick was carried on by an exchange of commodities.

13 *Ordo*.—Sed res Persarum adolevit brevi: ac postea Nomo-Numidæ, digressi propter multitudinem a parentibus, possidere ea loca, quæ proxima Carthaginem Numidia appellatur.

15 *Proxima Carthaginem*] *Proxima* is a superlative degree formed from *prope*, and governs the same case as the Preposition.

*Numidia*] *Numidia* was divided into *Numidia Propria*, and *Numidia Massylorum*: the former was bounded on the north, by the *Mediterranean* sea; on the west, by the river *Ampsago*, now the *Suf-Gemar*, which divided it from the *Massylians*; on the south, by the deserts of *Lybia Interior*; and on the east,

N

by

que alteris freti finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium suum coëgere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidère; magis hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant; quia Libyes, quàm Gætuli, minùs bellicosi: denique Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratiâ, pars imperii cupidine, sollicitatâ plebe & aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrimetum, Leptim, aliasque urbis in orâ maritimâ condidère: eæque brevi multum auctæ, pars originibus suis præsidio, aliæ decori fuere: nam de Carthagine silerè melius puto, quàm parum dicere: quoniam aliò properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africâ dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene

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by the river *Tusca*, at present the *Gualbarbar*, by which it was separated from *Africa Propria*. It is now called the province of *Constantina*. *Numidia Massylorum* was bounded on the north, by the *Mediterranean*; on the west, by the river *Mulucha*, which divided it from the kingdom of *Bocchus*; on the south, by *Gætulia*; and on the east, by the river *Ampsaga*.

1 *Utrique*] Those who remained in their old habitations, and they who had made new settlements.

2 *Nomen*] Renown.

3 *Africa pars inferior*] The lower part of any country that borders on the sea, is the coast or shore, as is evident from the course of rivers; and therefore by *pars inferior* here we are to understand the places on or near the coast of *Africa* upon the *Mediterranean*.

4 *Victi omnes*] We find that among the Antients, it was usual with the vanquished to be incorporated with, and assume the name of their conquerors.

XIX. *The first colonies transplanted by the Phœnicians into Africa.*

1 *Phœnices*] The *Phœnicians*, formerly the most industrious trading people in the world, inhabited that part of *Syria* called *Phœnicia*, it was bounded on the north, by the river *Eleutherus*; on the east by *Cælesyria* and part of *Palestine*; on the south, by *Palestine*; and on the west, by the *Mediterranean* sea. They got the

name *Phœnicians* from the Greek word *φονίξ*, which signifies a Purple colour, for they were the first who discovered the manner of dying purple.

*Alii multitudinis—pars imperii*] Another author would have said *alii multitudinis—alii imperii*, but *Sallust* is a great admirer of variety.

3 *Hipponem*] A commodious harbour, of the province of *Zeuges* in *Africa propria*, now a part of the kingdom of *Tunis*, on the *Mediterranean*, about twenty five Roman miles west of *Utica*, and forty five west of *Carthage*. It was called *Hippon Diarrhyoi*, or *Zaritos*, to distinguish it from *Hippon Regius*, which is in *Numidia*; and it is now known by the name of *Biserta Vecchia*.

*Hadrimetum*] A sea-port in *Byzacium*, the second division of *Africa propria*. 75 miles south east of *Carthage*, now *Mahometta*.

*Leptim*] A small sea-port 15 miles south east of *Hadrinetum*, now *Menaftero*.

5 *Carthagine*] *Carthage* stood within 12 miles of *Tunis*, and 10 from the mouth of the river *Bagrada*. There is still to be seen there a castle named *Birsa*; and the *Africans*, to this day, call the heaps of ruins *Bersack*, and the tower that is yet standing *Almenare*; the Christians give it the name of *Rocca de Massinaces*, and to the harbour that of *Marcia*.

7 *Secundo mari*] This may be explained two ways, 1. If *secundus* be taken as a numeral,



Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn; ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Lep-  
tis: deinde Philenôn aræ, quem locum, Ægyptum versûs finem imperii  
habuere Carthaginienses; pòst, aliæ Punicæ urbes: cætera loca usque  
ad Mauritaniâ Numidæ tenent. Proxumè Hispaniâ Mauri sunt;  
super Numidiâ Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incul-  
tiùs vagos agitare: post eos Æthiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis  
ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino, pleraque ex Punicis oppida, &  
finis Carthaginiensium quos novissumè habuerant, populus Romanus  
per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars & Numidæ  
ad flumen usque Mulucham, sub Jugurthâ erant: Mauris omnibus Rex

N 2

Bocchus

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numeral, to signify that which comes in the second or next place, then *secundo mari* may be rendered the sea being near, contiguous, or hard by, that is, according to the English idiom, by the sea-side, upon the shore, or, as you go along the shore, there is first Cyrene, &c. 2. If *secundus* be taken not as a numeral, but as an adjective signifying favourable, fair, &c. then *secundo mari* will be the same as *portuosus mari*, or *mari non importuosus*. But though the words will admit of either of these senses, yet the first is that which Sallust seems to intend here, as will appear by what is said in note 2 following.

1 *Colonia Thereôn*] *Thera* is an island in the *Ægean sea*, to the north of *Crete*: Hence *Therei*, *Theresum*, or, more *Græco*, *Thereôn*. This colony was sent from *Thera* by advice of the oracle of *Delphos*, under the conduct of *Aristæus Battus*, who, upon his arriving in *Africa*, built a city and called it *Cyrene*, either from the mountain *Cyra*, on which it was founded, or from a young lady named *Cyrene*, whom, upon his landing, he found there. See the history of this at large in *Justin*, XIII. cap. vii.

*Duæ Syrtes*] These are two gulphs of the sea on the coast of *Africa*, the east-  
ermost is called *Syrtis major*, and the west-  
ermost *Syrtis minor*. Sallust describes them, cap. lxxviii.

2 *Leptis*] Sc. magna, now *Lebeda*, a sea-port in the territory of *Tripoly*.

*Philenôn Aræ*] *Philenôn* is also the Greek genitive, instead of *Philenorum*. The *Phileni* were two brothers, *Carthaginiæni*, who, to serve their country, con-  
descended to be here buried alive; to the honour of whose memory the *Carthaginiæni* erected the altars here mentioned,

as Sallust informs us, cap. lxxix. Now these *Aræ Philenôn* were situated between *Cyrene* and *Syrtis major*, whereas our author seems to place them to the west of both the *Syrtes*. But the reader must observe, that the words of Sallust are, *secundo mari, prima*, &c. i. e. upon the shore the places are first *Cyrene*, and west from it the two *Syrtes*, and *Leptis major* between them: Then he returns again to the east, to take notice of the places situated not upon the shore, but which were more inland, and in the first place mentions the *Aræ Philenôn*. In this sense *Cortius* explains the place.

6 *Agitare*] Scil. vitam: the word *agitare* very well expresses their wandering, restless way of life.

*Æthiopas*] *Æthiopia* lay south of *Egypt*, having *Lybia Interior* on the west, and *Sinus Arabicus* on the east: the ancient Geographers knew nothing of the countries to the south of it. It was divided into *Æthiopia supra Ægyptum*, and *Æthiopia Interior*. The former is now called *Abyssinia*, and the latter *Nubia* and *Æthiopia*.

7 *Ordo*.—Igitur populus Romanus administrabat per magistratus bello Jugurthino pleraque oppida ex Punicis, & finis Carthaginiensium, quos habuerant novissime; magna pars Gætulorum, & Numidæ usque ad flumen Mulucham erant sub Jugurthâ.

8 *Novissumè*] Very lately.

10 *Mauris*] *Mauritania* was one of the largest provinces of *Africa*: it extended from the river *Mulucha* on the east, as far as the *Atlantic* ocean, on the west, and southward as far as mount *Atlas*, and contained part of *Biledulgerid*, with the kingdoms of *Fex* and *Meroço*.

Boechus imperitabat, præter nomen cætera ignarus populi Romani, itemque nobis, neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africâ & ejus incolis, ad necessitudinem rei, satis dictum.

XX. Postquam diviso regno legati Africâ decessere, & Jugurtha contra timorem animi præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus (quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat) omnia Romæ venalia esse, simul & illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullò antè muneribus expleverat, in regnum Atherbalis animum intendit; ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunist injuriæ, metuens magis quàm metuendus: igitur ex improvise finis ejus cum magnâ manu invadit; multos mortalis cum pecore atque aliâ prædâ capit; ædificia incendit; pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; deinde cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit; existumans, dolore permotum Atherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli causam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existumabat, & amicitia populi Romani magis quàm Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen

## N O T Æ.

1 *Cætera*] Id est, *Quoad cætera*.

3 *Ad necessitudinem rei*] To answer my purpose.

Measures taken by *Jugurtha* against *Atherbal*, with an account of the death of the latter, in six chapters.

XX. *Atherbal's character*. *Jugurtha* openly invades his dominions.

1 *Legati*] The Roman deputies.

2 *Contra timorem animi*] Contrary to his fears. It is worth while to observe the different words used in Latin, to express the different kinds and degrees of fear: *metus* is a prudential fear, which enables us to foresee the danger, and prompts us to avoid it; *timor* is a groundless, cowardly fear; *horror*, a fear caused by some unusual sight, or a sudden appearance of peril, which chills the blood and makes us incapable of defending ourselves; *pavor*, that fear which betrays itself by outward symptoms, and takes away the power of reflection; *formidō*, a permanent fear; *terror*, the fear which we strike into others, not applicable to the feelings of the person who is in dread; for although, *degeneres animos timor arguit* be very good, *degeneres animos terror arguit* would be very bad Latin.

*Præmia sceleris*] The rewards were impunity, the half, and that the better half of *Numidia*, instead of the third part, which was all he had before.

*Certum ratus*] Id est, *certum esse ratus*: we must observe, that altho' *reor* has always an *active* signification, *ratus* is very often taken *passively*.

4 *Illorum pollicitationibus*] The commissioners had promised that they would support him at *Rome* with all their interest.

7 *Opportunist injuriæ*] Obnoxious or exposed to insults; fit to be insulted with impunity. *Opportunist* comes from *ob* and *portus*; having a harbour, as it were, for receiving insults; a metaphor taken from a sea-faring life.

8 *Mortalis*] The accusative plural in *Sallust* frequently ends in *is*.

11 *Convertit*] Intellige *Se*.

*Injurias suas*] Id est, *Injurias sibi illatas a Jugurtha*.

13 *Ille*] *Atherbal*.

*Parem*] *Sc. Jugurthæ*.

15 *Questum*] The first supine, from *querer*.

*Contumeliosa dicta*] A disdainful answer.

tamen omnia pati decrevit, quàm bellum fumere; quia tentatum antea secùs cesserat. Neque eo magis cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat: itaque, non (ut antea) cum prædatoriâ manu, sed magno exercitu comparato bellum gerere cœpit, & apertè totius Numidiæ imperium petere: cæterùm, quâ pergebat, urbis, agros, vastare, prædas agere; suis animùm, hostibus terrorem augere.

XXI. Atherbal ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset aut armis retinendum; necessariò copias parat, & Jugurthæ obviùs procedit. Interim haud longè à mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus; &, quia diei extremum erat, prælium non inceptum: sed, ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthinì signo dato castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma fumentes fugant funduntque: Atherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit; & nî multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos Reges cœptum atque patratum foret bellum. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumfedit; vineis turribusque & machinis omnium

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swer. *Contumeliosa* comes from *con* and *tumeo*, to swell.

2 *Secùs cesserat*] It had succeeded worse than he expected.

3 *Eo*] The patience with which *Atherbal* bore his insults.

4 *Animo jam invaserat*] Had already devoured in his mind.

5 *Prædatoriâ manu*] A plundering band, what, in the modern phrase, we call a body of Free-booters. They were light armed troops, fit for expedition.

XXI. *Atherbal raises an army; is defeated near Cirta, whither he flies for shelter; Jugurtha lays siege to the town.*

1 *Processum*] Sub. *esse*; a passive impersonal of the infinitive mood.

2 *Necessariò*] Id est, *necessitate coactus*.

3 *Cirtam oppidum*] *Cirta*, the royal seat of *Syphax*, and afterwards of *Masiniſſa*, was, according to *Monf. D'Anville*, situated upon the river *Ampsaga*, 220 miles west of *Carthage*, and 45 miles south of the *Mediterranean*. It is now called *Conſtantia*.

4 *Utriusque*] Sc. *Jugurthæ & Atherbalis*.

7 *Fugant funduntque*] *Fugare*, is simply to put an enemy to flight; *fundere*, to make them fly in disorder, and sometimes to slaughter; the latter I take to be the true sense here, altho' it may import both.

9 *Togatorum*] By *Togati* we are to understand the *Romans*, whose distinguishing habit or dress was the *toga*; and hence *Virg. l. Æneid. v. 286*, calls them *gens togata*. The *Greeks*, on the other hand, were called *Palliati*, from the *pallium* or cloak they used to wear. Now in all the *Roman* provinces there generally were a good number of *Romans*, either merchants, travellers, or persons otherwise employed; and these in *Cirta* at this time took part with *Atherbal* against *Jugurtha*.

11 *Vineis*] The *vineæ* were a kind of wicker-baskets, covered over with hurdles, under the shelter whereof the soldiers could advance to the very walls, and undermine them.

*Turribusque*] *Turres* were square wooden towers, built upon wheels, and raised in the form of a pyramid, to overlook the enemy's walls: they consisted of 10, 15, and sometimes 20 stages or stories, and

nium generum expugnare adgreditur; maxumè festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante prælium factum Romam ab Atherbale missos audiverat. Sed, postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambos Reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, *Velle & censere, eos ab armis discedere, de controversiis suis jure potiùs, quàm bello disceptare*; ita sèque illisq; dignum esse.

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt; eo magis, quòd Romæ (dum proficisci parant) de prælio facto & oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur; sed is rumor clemens erat: quorum Jugurtha acceptâ oratione respondit; *Sibi neque majus quidquam neque carius auctoritate senatus: ab adolescentiâ ita se enisum, ut ab optimo quoque probaretur; virtute non malitiâ P. Scipioni summo viro placuisse; ob easdem artis a Micipsâ, non penuriâ liberorum, in regnum adoptatum esse; cæterum, quò plura bene atque strenuè fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minùs tolerare: Atherbalem dolis vitæ suæ infidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviâsse: populum Romanum neque rectè neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit: postremò, de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum.* Ità utrique digrediuntur. Atherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Ju-

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and were filled with men, provided with all manner of weapons proper to annoy the besieged.

1 *Tempus legatorum antecapere*] To get the start of the ambassadors, and Atherbal, that is, to make himself master of Cirta before the return of the ambassadors from Rome.

3 *Accepit*] Sc. nuncium.

5 *Velle & censere*] This verb is governed like *discedere*, of *velle & censere*. They willed and desired them, to depart from arms, and determine their disputes rather by justice than by war.

XXII. Jugurtha's discourse to the Roman commissioners.

1 *Maturantes*] *Maturare* signifies to make such haste as to arrive at a place, or perform an action in a seasonable, or, as we say, the very nick of time; *properare*, to proceed without regard to any thing else but expedition; *festinare*, to be in a kind of hurry and confusion.

3 *Clemens*] Too favourable.

*Ordo.*—Quorum oratione accepta, Jugurtha respondit: quidquam neque majus, neque charius Auctoritate Senatus sibi: & se esse enixum ita ab adolescentia sua, ut probaretur ab optimo quoque: & respondit se placuisse P. Scipioni, viro summo, virtute, non malitia; & se esse adoptatum a Micipsa in regnum, non penuria liberorum, sed ob easdem artes.

*Quorum*] Sc. Legatorum.

5 *Enisum*] Id est, conatum.

*Quoque*] Every.

7 *Easdem artis*] Sc. Virtutes.

10 *Obviâsse*] An adverb; the same as *contra viam*; to come against a person in his way, that is to oppose him.

11 *Jure gentium*] By the law of Nature, and the laws of Nations we are all allowed to repel any injury that is offered to us.

13 *Utrique*] Scilicet, Legati et Jugurtha.

*Atherbalis appellandi*] Jugurtha prevented



XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africâ decessisse ratus est, neque propter naturam loci Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossâ mœnia circumdat; turris exstruit, easque præfidiis firmat; præterea dies, noctesque aut per vim aut dolis tentare; defensoribus mœnium, præmia modò, modò formidinem ostentare; suos, hortando ad virtutem erigere: prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Atherbal, ubi intelligit 'omnis' fortunas suas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, 'penuriâ rerum necessariûm bellum trahi non posse;' ex iis, qui unâ Cirtam profugerant, duos maxumè impigros delegit; eos, multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum, confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: literæ Atherbalis in senatu recitatz, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

*Non meâ culpâ sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti; sed vis Jugurthæ subigit; quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos neque Deos immortalis in animo habeat, sanguinem meum quàm omnia malit: itaque quintum jam mensem, socius & amicus populi Romani, armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsæ patris mei beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur: ferro an fame acrius urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurthâ scribere, debortatur fortuna mea; etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse; nisi tamen intelligo, illum supra quàm ego sum petere, ne-*

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vented their calling upon Atherbal, lest he should inform them how matters were really circumstanced.

XXIII. Jugurtha besieges Cirta a second time. Atherbal sends letters to Rome.

1 *Esi*] Legatos.

2 *Armis expugnare*] Storm; that is, taken it by assault.

*Vallo atque fossâ*] *Vallo*, a rampart, derived from *palus*, a stake. The Roman manner of fortification was, to plant stakes in the ground, to interweave them with hurdles, and fortify them behind with earth, cut in the form of bricks. *Fossa* was the trench before the *Vallum*.

3 *Turris extruit*] The *turres* here are not the *turres mobiles* mentioned cap. xxi. but fixed, being built of earth, and erected chiefly to secure their rampart, ditch, and other works, against sallies of the

besieged from within, or attacks of their friends and allies from without.

6 *Omnis*] Put for *omnes*.

8 *Trabi*] Be prolonged.

11 *Nostru*] It is only said in the ablative case, instead of *nostræ*.

XXIV. Atherbal's letter read in the senate.

3 *Oratum*] The first supine.

5 *Neque vos*] He pays them the same compliment he did before, by joining them to the *immortal Gods*.

6 *Malis*] Sub. *habere*.

8 *Beneficia*] In *Jugurtham*.

10 *Expertus sum*] In his first journey to Rome.

11 *Nisi tamen intelligo*] *Dixerat se plura scribere nolle, quod parum fidei miseris sit, & addit nisi hoc unum, quod Jugurtha amplius quid petat, quàm vitam regnum-*

# que simul amicitiam vestram & regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est; nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum, dein patrio regno me expulit. Quæ sanè fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos: verum nunc regnum vestrum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant: quid est reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quâ moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, & hæc quæ scribo, & illa quæ antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quàm miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed, quoniam eo natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem; non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodò inimici imperium & cruciatus corporis, deprecor: regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, uti lubet consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Massissæ.

XXV. His literis recitatis, fuère, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, & quàm primùm Atherbali subveniendum; de Jugurthâ interim uti consuleretur, quoniam legatis non paruisset: sed ab isdem illis regis fautoribus summâ ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret; ita bonum publicum (ut in plerisque negotiis solet) privatâ gratiâ devictum. Legantur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus usi; in quibus fuit M. Scaurus, de quo suprâ memoravimus, consularis, & tum senatus princeps: hi, quòd in invidiâ res erat, simul & a Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere: dein brevi, Uticam appulsi, literas ad Jugurtham mittunt: quàm ocyssumè ad provinciam accedat; se ad eum ab senatu missos. Ille, ubi

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que suum. Manet itaque nisi particula exceptiva. He gives the Romans a hint of the ambition of Jugurtha, as if he aimed at nothing less than subverting their empire.

1 Utrum] Id est, Regnum meum, an Amicitia vestra.

3 Quæ sanè, &c.] Let these be considered as insults offered only to us.

4 Regnum vestrum] In opposition to nostræ injuriæ: this at once touched the interest and honour of the Romans.

5 Imperatorem] A governor: this title, as has been before shewn, was conferred on the governors of provinces who had the command of an army.

10 Et] To that misfortune.

Ostentui] The evidence. In vulgar language we would say the sign-post.

XXV. Commissioners sent to Africa.

6 Majores natu] They had before sent young men.

8 Princeps] He who was first called by the Censors in the review of the senate, was reckoned Princeps Senatus.

In invidia rei erat] It was an object of public odium.

9 Numidis] Atherbal's messengers.

Uticam] Utica, now Biserta, in the kingdom of Tunis, was a sea-port about 10 miles north west of Carthage, and 112 north east of Cirta.

11 Ordo.—Ille ubi accepit homines claros,

ubi accepit, 'homines claros (quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere 'audiverat) contra inceptum suum venisse', primò commotus metu atque lubricine divorſus agitabatur: timebat iram ſenatûs, nî paruiſſet legatis; porro animus, cupidine cæcus, ad inceptum ſcelus rapiebat: vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum conſilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, ſummâ vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur; maxumè ſperans, diductâ manu hoſtium, aut vi aut dolis ſeſe caſum victoriæ inventurum: quod ubi ſecûs procedit, neque quod intenderat efficere poteſt, uti priûs, quàm legatos conveniret, Atherbalis potiretur; ne ampliùs morando Scaurum (quem plurimùm metuebat) incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. At tameſſi ſenatûs verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quòd ab oppugnatione non deſiſſeret; multâ tamen oratione conſumtâ, legati fruſtra diſceſſere.

XXVI. Ea poſtquam Cirtæ audita ſunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia deſenſabantur, conſiſi, deditione factâ, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos ſeſe fore, Atherbali ſuadent, uti ſequè & oppidum Jugurthæ tradat: tantùm ab eo vitam paciſcatur; de cæteris ſenatui curæ fore. At ille, tameſſi omniâ potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; tamen, quia penes eoſdem (ſi advorſaretur) cogenûi poteſtas erat, ita (uti cenſuerant Italici) deditionem facit. Igitur Jugurtha in primis Atherbalem excruciatum necat; dein omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiſcuè, uti quiſque armatis obviuſ fuerat, interfecit.

XXVII. Quod poſtquam Romæ cognitum eſt, & res in ſenatu agitari

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claros, quorum auctoritatem audiverat, pollere Romæ, veniſſe contra inceptum ſuum: commotus primo metu atque lubricine, agitabatur diverſus.

1 *Accepit*] Sc. ſamam.

2 *Metu atque lubricine*] Fear of the Romans, and the deſire of ſeizing all Numidia.

5 *Avido*] Sc. Imperii.

7 *Diductâ*] Being divided.

*Caſum*] An opportunity.

11 *Provinciam*] Sc. Romanam.

XXVI. Cirta ſurrenders; Atherbal's death.

6 *Eoſdem*] Italicos Negotiatores.

7 *In primis*] Jugurtha's firſt care was to put Atherbal to death, whom he con-

demned to more exquisite torments than any of the reſt: *excruciatum necat*.

9 *Negotiatores*] The Italian merchants.

Unavailing meaſures taken by the ſenate to avenge the death of Atherbal, in three chapters.

XXVII. Jugurtha's friends miſcarry in their interceſſion for him at Rome: Forces are levied for the Numidian war.

1 *Ordo*.—Quod poſtquam eſt cognitum Romæ, & res eſt cepta agitari in Senatu: iidem illi miniſtri regis interpellando, ac trahendo tempus ſæpe gratia, & interdum jurgiis, leniebant atrocitatem facti.

*Agitari*] To be debated,

tari cœpta; iidem illi ministri Regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratiâ, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant: ac nî C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer & infestus potentiæ nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisse, 'id agi, uti per paucos \* factiosos Jugurthæ scelus condonaretur; ' profectò omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa foret: tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ regis erat. Sed, ubi senatus delicti conscientiam populum timet, lege Semproniam provinciæ futuris Consulibus Numidia atque Italia decreta; Consules declarati, P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: dein exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur; stipendium, aliæque, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

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1 *Ministri*] Agents, such as had before been bribed by *Jugurtha*.

*Interpellando*] By interrupting the debates.

*Gratiâ*] By their credit in the senate.

2 *Trahendo*] Spinning out, protracting; a metaphor taken from the spinning of wool.

*Atrocitatem*] Heinousness.

*Leniebant*] Mitigated.

3 *Memmius*] The same who afterwards, when he stood candidate with *Glaucia* for the consulship, was slain by order of the tribune *Saturninus*, that *Glaucia* might be elected. For this fact, the tribune was, by order of the senate, besieged in the capital, where he had taken refuge with *Glaucia* and *Saufeius*, but the pipes which conveyed water to that fortress being cut, and *Saturninus* compelled to surrender, he, with the chief of his followers, was immediately massacred by the populace.

*Tribunus plebis*] In the year of Rome 260, the commons, having been long opposed by the nobility, retired to a hill, within three miles of the city, called afterwards *Mons Sacer*, where they insisted upon having magistrates chosen from among themselves, to be their protectors against the rich: accordingly five men were elected with the title of *Tribuni Plebis*, whose persons were declared sacred, but who had no other power than that of putting a stop to the proceedings of the senate, and the assemblies of the people, which any one of them could do, by pronouncing the single word *Veto*. Thirty-six years after the first institution

of the tribunician power, the number of these magistrates was augmented to ten, and by their daily encroaching, they at length assumed the power of assembling the senate, proposing new laws, imprisoning the Consuls, and other magistrates; in a word, their arrogance and seditious conduct often brought the Republic to the brink of destruction; and hence they are called by some authors *pestes reipublice*, and *seditiosi magistratus*. They were laid under great restrictions by *Sylla*, inasmuch that their power was much impaired, nay almost quite abolished: But this tribunicial power was again restored by *Pompey*, as we learn from *Sallust*, *Cat. cap. xxxviii*. They were both elected and entered on their office before the Consuls, and, during this interval, were, like them, called *designati*. See *Cat. cap. xviii. n. 2*.

4 *Edocuisse*] It is probable that some of the Tribunes of the year produced him to the people, as he, being but Tribune elect, had not yet the power of calling an assembly.

7 *Delicti*] Scilicet, *Jugurtha*.

*Legge Semproniam*] The author of this law was *C. Sempronius Gracchus* Tribune of the commons, *A. U. 630*: It ordained, that before the annual *comitia* for choosing the Consuls, the senate should determine what were to be the consular provinces, or which two provinces the new Consuls were to have: And these the Consuls, without consulting the senate, divided between them by lot, or otherwise if they thought proper.



XXVIII. At Jugurtha contra spem nuncio accepto, (quippe cui, Romæ omnia venum ire in animo hæserat) filium, & cum eo duos familiaris, ad senatum legatos mittit; iisque (ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat) præcipit, '*omnis mortalis pecuniâ adgrediantur*:' qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus à Bestia consultus est, placere tne legatos Jugurthæ recipi mœnibus; iisque decrevêre, '*ni regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, ut in diebus proximis decem Italiâ decederent*.' Consul Numidis ex senatûs decreto nunciari jubet; ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius parato exercitu legat sibi homines nobilis factiosos, quorum auctoritate quæ deliquisset munita fore sperabat; in quibus fuit Scaurus, cujus de naturâ & habitu suprà memoravimus: nam in Consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi & corporis erant, quas omnis avaritia præpediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula & insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Siciliâ in Africam, transvectæ: igitur Calpurnius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortalis & urbis aliquot pugnando cepit.

XXIX. Sed, ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecuniâ tentare, bellique quod administrabat asperitatem ostendere cœpit; animus æger avaritiâ

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ritiâ

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XXVIII. *The son of Jugurtha, sent as deputy to Rome, receives orders to quit Italy: The Consul Calpurnius arrives in Numidia at the head of an army.*

6 *Recipi mœnibus*.] The Romans did not admit the ambassadors of every prince or state to enter their city, and therefore there was a *villa publica* erected without the walls, for the reception of such as they did not incline to confer this honour upon; and sometimes too the senate gave them a hearing in the temple of *Bellona*, which was also without the city.

7 *Deditum*.] The first supine.

8 *Italiâ*.] The ablative case, governed of the preposition *de* in *decederent*.

10 *Legat sibi*.] Chuses for his lieutenants.

*Factiosos*.] Powerful men, who had many adherents at Rome.

11 *Munita*.] Screened.

16 *Rhegium*.] *Rhegium*, now *Rheggio*,

in the further *Calabria*, is divided from Sicily by the straits of *Messina*. It had its name from *phrynos*, to break, because it was thought that the sea, by forcing a passage at this place, had formerly separated Sicily from Italy.

*Siciliam*.] Sicily is a large island in the *Mediterranean*, formerly called *Sicania*, and sometimes *Triquetra* and *Triacria*, from its triangular form and three promontories, *Pachynus*, *Pelorus*, and *Lilybæum*.

18 *Mortalis—urbis*.] Both accusatives plural.

XXIX. *Jugurtha corrupts Calpurnius and Scaurus, and makes a pretended treaty with them.*

1 *Tentare*.] Sc. *Consulem*.

2 *Æger avaritiâ*.] Infected with avarice.

ritiâ facilè conversus est : cæterùm socius & administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus; qui, tametsi à principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis acerrumè regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniæ à bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primùm tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existumans sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio aut gratiâ effecturum; postea verò quàm participem negotii Scaurum accepit; in maximam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præsens agere: cæterùm interea fidei causâ mittitur à consule Sextius quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vaccam; cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat, quoniam deditionis morâ induciæ agitabantur. Igitur Rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit; ac, pauca præsentis consilio locutus de invidiâ facti sui, atque ut in deditionem acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transegit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam sententiis exquisitis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephantum triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus

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1 *Administer*] Assistant.

2 *A principio*] From the beginning, that is, from the time that *Althibal* had carried his complaints to *Rome*.

*Ex factione ejus*] Of his party; those who, in conjunction with *Scaurus*, had formerly declared against *Jugurtha*.

5 *Belli moram redimebat*] Purchased a suspension of the war.

9 *Præsens*] In person.

*Fidei causâ*] Id est, ut *Consuli fides habere*tur; as an hostage for his fidelity, in permitting *Jugurtha* to return unmolested.

*Sextius*] This is thought to be the same who was afterwards Prætor in *Africa*, when *Marius* fled thither from the vengeance of *Sylla*.

10 *Vaccam*] This town, by some called *Vaga*, the chief mart of *Numidia*, was situate upon the river *Tusca*, about 35 miles from the *Mediterranean*.

*Species*] The pretext.

12 *Deditionis morâ*] During the interval, until the king should surrender himself. As the truce had been granted upon *Jugurtha's* request, it was just he should contribute to the support of the army.

13 *Invidiâ*] The odium; as if the facts alleged against him had been unjustly aggravated.

15 *Per saturam*.] *Satura* is an adjective, and signifies full, the substantive understood is *lanx*, a platter or charger; and *satura lanx* particularly signifies the platter or charger, which was once a year filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the Gods, as the *primitiæ* or first-fruits of the season. From this medley or mixture of fruits in the charger, the phrase *per saturam* is used to denote whatever is various, manifold, or confused; and *per saturam sententias exquirere* signifies a collecting of votes in a confused manner; such as happens when the members are neither called by name, nor the voices marked or numbered; but when the suffrages are given promiscuously, indistinctly, without any order observed, and as it were all at once, or by the lump.

16 *Pro consilio*] In presence of the council of war.

17 *Pecus*] Sheep or oxen, perhaps both, for the service of the army.

18 *Ad magistratus rogandos*] This way of speaking flows from the manner in which

tratus rogandos proficiscitur: in Numidiâ & exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africâ gestas, quôque modo actæ forent, fama divulgavit; Romæ per omnis locos & conventus de facto Consulibus agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres solliciti; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum Consulibus subverterent, parum constabat; ac maxumè eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor & socius Bestiæ ferebatur, à vero bonoque impediēbat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii & odio potentia nobilitatis suprâ diximus, inter dubitationem & moras senatûs, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari; monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent; multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed, quoniam eâ tempestate Romæ Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existumavi unam ex tam multis orationem ejus perscribere; ac potissimum ea dicam, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujusmodi verbis differuit.

XXXI. *Multa me debortantur à vobis, Quirites, nî studium rei publicæ*

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which the election was carried on, which was by asking the votes of the people. The words were *velitis, jubeatis*.—*roga, Quirites*. One of the Consuls sat Præses at the election, and Bestia was now under the greater necessity of being at Rome for this purpose, because Scipio the other Consul was dead.

Transactions at Rome, until the renewal of the war with Jugurtha, in six chapters.

XXX. Calpurnius is generally blamed: the Tribune Memmius animates the people against Jugurtha, and his accomplices.

4 *Parum constabat*] They were uncertain.

5 *Auctor*] The adviser of the measures taken by Calpurnius.

8 *Concionibus*] Public discourses; it comes from *concio*, to raise, or call together.

13 *Ac potissimum*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *ac potissimum decere existumari perscribere ea, id est, eas res quæ, &c.*

XXXI. The Oration of Memmius.

The *Ethos* or character assumed by Memmius in this oration, is that of a good citizen, a lover of liberty and justice; the *Pathos* or passions, he endeavours to excite, are indignation against the Patricians for their oppressive behaviour to the Plebeians, and their collusion with Jugurtha. The discourse, consists of three parts, the *Exordium*, the *Contention*, or what he would persuade the assembly to, and the *Peroration*.

1 *Multa me*] The *Exordium*, wherein he shews the reasons that might deter him from undertaking the present cause; what induced him to appear in it, and in what manner the people ought to behave.

*Quirites*] Some derive this name from *quiris*, which, in the Sabine language, say they, signifies a spear; and hence Mars was called *Quirinus*, i. e. *hastatus*. Romulus, his supposed son, got the same name, and the Romans were called *Quirites*. But others, with a greater shew of probability, say, that *Simulus*, upon his union with *Tatius*, and

*publicæ omnia superet: opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum; ac maxumè, quod innocentia plus periculi quàm honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, 'his annis quindecim quàm ludibrio fueritis superbia paucorum; quàm fœdè quàmque inulti perierint vestri defensores; uti vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit; qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxii inimicis, exsurgitis; atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus vos decet terrori esse.' Sed, quamquam hæc talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentia animus subigit; certè ego libertatem, quæ mihi à parente meo tradita est, experiar: verùm, id frustrà an ob rem faciam, in vestrà manu situm est, Quirites; neque ego vos hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecère, uti contra injurias armati eatis: nihil vi, nihil secessione, opus est; necesse est, suomet ipsi more præcipientes eant. Occiso Tiberio Gracco, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones graves habitæ sunt: Post C. Gracci & M. Fulvii cædem, vestri item ordinis multi mortales*

in

## N O T Æ.

and the *Sabines* coming to dwell in *Rome*, did, to prevent animosities among his citizens, on account of their being of different nations, assume to himself the name of *Quirinus*, and called all the people *Quirites*, borrowing the word from *Cures*, the chief city in the country of the *Sabines*. In much the same manner, and for the like reason, the *Scots* and *English* were by king *James VI.* upon his being made king of *England*, called by the common name of *Britons*, and their countiees denominated *South* and *North Britain*.

1 *Factionis*] The faction of the nobles.

3 *His annis quindecim*] He means since the death of the *Gracchi*, but he is not very exact in his computation; for *Tiberius* had been dead 23 years, and *Caius* only eleven.

4 *Vestri defensores*] The two *Gracchi* and *Fulvius Flaccus*.

6 *Obnoxii inimicis*] When your enemies, the *Patricians*, are at your mercy.

8 *Subigit*] Prompts me.

10 *Ob rem*] To any purpose.

13 *Occiso Tiberio Gracco*] The contention is two-fold, viz. the people should no longer submit to the oppression of the nobility: they should punish the abettors of *Jugurtha*. They should oppose the nobility, because the latter have been guilty of enormous crimes; because they them-

selves must be worse than slaves if they bear their tyranny; because the morals of the *Patricians* are mostly dissolute; because their ancestors had in former times shaken off the grievous yoke imposed upon them by the rich.

*Regnum parare*] As *Tib. Gracchus* sat on his tribunal in the capital the morning before his death, he was informed by *Fulvius Flaccus*, that the senate had a design against his life. *Tiberius*, who could not be heard at a distance, on account of the confusion and tumult that reigned in the assembly, raised his hand to his head, to signify, by that action to the multitude, the danger that threatened him; whereupon his enemies, to give that innocent gesture, a black and infamous construction, cried out, that he publicly demanded a crown. Immediately, the whole senate, at whose head was *Scipio Nasica*, together with their dependants, ran to the capital, attacked the multitude and pursued *Tiberius*. The latter, being retarded in his flight by a fall, was knocked down, the moment he got up, by *P. Saturnus*, one of his colleagues, and, with a second blow, dispatched by *L. Rubrius*, another tribune, who boasted of it as of a meritorious action.

14 *Quæstiones graves*] Inquisitions by torture;



in carcere necati sunt; utriusque cladis, non lex, verum lubido eorum, finem fecit. Sed sanè fuerit regni paratio, plebi jura sua restituere; quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ararium expilari, reges & populos liberos paucis nobilibus vèdīgāl pendere, penes eosdem & summam gloriam, & maxumas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impune suscepisse, parum habuere; itaque postremò leges, majestas vestra, divina & humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt: neque eos, qui ea fecere, pudet aut pœnitet; sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifici; sacerdotia & consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes; perinde, quasi ea honori non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati injusta imperia dominorum non perferunt; vos, Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? Homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritiâ, nocentissimi, iidemque superbissimi; quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremò honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt: pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quæstiones injustas, plerique eadem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita, quàm quisque pessumè fecit, tam maxumè tutus est; metum à scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transfulere; quos omnis, eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere, in unum cœgit: sed hæc inter bonos amicitia, inter malos factio est. Quòd si vos tam libertatis curam haberetis, quàm illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profectò, neque res publica sicuti nunc vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos non audacissimos forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris & majestatis constituendæ gratiâ, bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere;

## N O T Æ.

1 Utriusque cladis] The slaughter and punishments that followed the death both of Tib. and C. Gracchus.

Lex] The Porcian law, which forbade that a Roman citizen should be put to death, unless condemned by an assembly of the people.

Eorum] Sc. Nobilium.

2 Sui] The lands, of which the rich had deprived them by force or fraud, and which Tib. Gracchus had attempted to restore to them by promulgating the Agrarian laws.

3 Ulcisci] Be avenged: it must be observed, that altho' ulcisci be a verb dependent, it is here taken passively.

7 Parum habuere] They esteemed it a small matter.

9 Per ora vestra] Before your faces.

11 Quasi—honori non prædæ habeant] As if they esteemed them as honourable distinctions, not as a means of robbing the public.

19 A scelere suo] They ought to dread the punishment due to their crimes, but your cowardice has freed them from that fear, and transferred it to yourselves.

24 Beneficia vestra] That is, public employments.

26 Aventinum] Mount Aventine, one of the seven hills upon which Rome was built, was enclosed by Ancus Martius.

vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, nonne summâ ope nitemini? atque eò vehementius, quò majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse. Dicit aliquis, 'quid igitur censes?' vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidère rempublicam; non manu, neque vi; quod magis vos fecisse, quam illis accidisse, indignum est; verum quæstionibus & indicio ipsius Jugurthæ, qui si dedititius est, profectò jussis vestris obediens erit: sin ea contemnit, scilicet æstimabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio sit, ex quâ ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentis maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint: nisi fortè nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet; et illa quàm hæc tempora magis placent, cùm regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremò divina & humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere: nam servitutem quidem quis vestrûm audebat recusare? Atque ego tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existumo impunè injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere (quoniam cives sunt) æquo animo paterer, nî misericordia in perniciem casura esset: nam & illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impunè malè fecisse, nisi deinde faciundi licentia eripitur; et vobis æterna sollicitudo remanebit, cùm intelligetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam: nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ quæ spes est? Dominari illi volunt,

vos

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4th king of the Roman. In the year 260, the people retired to this hill, on account of the cruel usage they received from their creditors; the consequence of which secession was, their obtaining Tribunes to protect them. In the year 305, they again withdrew to the same hill, to avenge the quarrel of *Virginus*, who had killed his daughter with his own hands, to save her from the brutality of *Appius Claudius*, one of the *Decemvirs*; nor could they be appeased until these magistrates were obliged to abdicate.

3 *Dicit aliquis*] The second part of the Contention: The favourers of *Jugurtha* ought to be punished, because their impunity will be a disgrace to the Republic; because it is the sure means of putting the whole power into the hands of the few, because it will destroy faith and concord.

6 *Dedititius est*] If he has sincerely surrendered himself.

10 *Damna atque dedecora*] Losses, because if the consul had prosecuted the war against *Jugurtha*, he might have reduced *Numidia* into the form of a Roman province; dishonour, by suffering the crimes of that prince to remain unpunished, and by making such an ignominious peace with him.

11 *Ille—tempora*] Scil. post mortem *Gracchorum*.

*Hæc*] That you are able to vindicate your right.

19 *Ordo*.—Nam & illis est parum (quantum importunitatis habent) fecisse male impunè, nisi licentia faciendi eripitur.

*Quantum importunitatis habent*] So perverse are they.

22 *Per manus*] By force.

vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremò sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare noneq̃ horūque vos, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus agrarii factus est, neque per vim sociis erepta pecuniæ; quæ quamquam gravia sunt, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur: hosti acerrumo prodita senatûs auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit: quæ nisi quæsitæ erunt, nisi vindicatum innoxios; quid erit reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecerè, obediētes vivamus? nam impune qualibet facere, id est Regem esse. Neque ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut jam malitis civis vestros perperam quàm rectè fecisse; sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc, in republica multò præstat, beneficii quàm maleficii immemorem esse; Bonus tantummodo segnior fit, ubi negligas, at malus imbrobior: ad hoc, si injuriæ non sint, baud sæpe auxilii egeas.

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo C. Memmius populo Romano persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum Prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque, interpositâ fide publicâ, Romam duceret; quò facilius indicio Regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcescebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidiâ relictî à Bestiâ exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima & flagitiosissima facinorâ fecerè. Fuere, qui auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthæ traderent; alii perfugas venderent; pars ex pacatis prædas agebant; tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum,

P

veluti

## N O T Æ.

1 Sociis] *Atherbal*. He was an ally, and innocent, yet he was abandoned.

2 Hostibus] *Jugurtha* was guilty, yet he found friends among the nobility.

3 Quare moneo] The Peroration.

8 Nisi quæsitæ erant] Unless they be enquired into.

12 Perditum] The first Supine.

XXXII. L. Cassius is deputed to Jugurtha, and persuades him to go to Rome, to give an account of his conduct.

1 Ordo.—C. Memmius, dicendo sæpe hæc, atque alia hujuscemodi, persuadet populo Romano, uti L. Cassius, qui tum prætor erat, mitteretur ad Jugurtham: duceretque eum Romam, fide publica interposita, quo delicta Scauri, & reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcescebant, pa-

tesfierent facilius indicio regis.

2 L. Cassius] This L. Cassius was a man of very austere morals, and a foe to the nobility: he was, in some time after this, slain by the *Tugurini*, against whom he commanded, as Consul.

3 Interpositâ fide publicâ] The public faith being engaged for his security.

4 Pecuniæ captæ] The genitive case, governed of *causâ* understood: on account of the money they had received from Jugurtha.

5 Arcescebant] *Arcessere* signifies to invite, to cite or summon; consequently to accuse or bring to a trial.

6 Imperatoris] Sc. *Bestia*.

9 Pacatis] Those who were at peace with the Romans.

veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius prætor, perlatâ rogatione à C. Memmio, ac percussâ omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; eique timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet: '*quoniam se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quam misericordiam ejus, experiri malit.*' Privatum præterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris, quam publicam ducebat; talis eâ tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quàm maxumè miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit. At tamen in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat quæ supra diximus C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magnâ mercede parat, cujus impudentiâ contra jus & injurias omnis munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocatâ concione, quamquàm Regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars nō socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi; dignitati, magis quàm iræ consulens, sedare motus, et animos eorum mollire; postremò confirmare, fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Pòst, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurthâ, verba facit: *Romæ Numidæque facinora ejus memorat; scelera in patrem, fratresque ostendit: quibus juvantibus, quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquàm intelligat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere: si verum aperiatur, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sed se suasque spes corrumpiturum.*

XXXIV. Dein,

## NOTÆ.

1 *Perlatâ rogatione*] The bill being passed. What we understand by a bill, was, by the *Romans*, expressed by the word *rogatio*; because in proposing a new law to the people, the formulary was, *Rogo vos*, &c.

XXXIII. Jugurtha arrives at Rome, and corrupts the Tribune C. Bæbium.

1 *Cultu quàm maxumè miserabili*] It was a common practice among the *Romans*, for persons accused and under process to wear mourning habits, or go in a very mean dress, let their hair and beards grow, and by all possible ways express their humility, till their trial was over, in order to move the compassion of the

people and their judges: And it was with this view, and in compliance with this custom, that *Jugurtha* came in such a pitiful plight to *Rome*.

4 *C. Bæbium*] The opposition of a single Tribune was sufficient to put a stop to the proceedings of the whole Roman people.

5 *Omnis*] The accusative plural.

7 *Plebes*] The nominative singular.

8 *More majorum*] The *Romans* punished malefactors by first scourging, and then beheading them.

11 *Facit*] Sc. *Memmius*.

12 *Ejus*] *Jugurtha*.

*Patrem, fratresque*] His adoptive father and brothers.

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XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprâ diximus, Regem tacere jubet: ac tametsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementer accensâ terrebat eum clamore, vultu, sæpè impetu, atque aliis omnibus, quæ ira fieri amat; vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus, ludibrio habitus, ex concione discedit: Jugurthæ, Bestiæque, et cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitat, animi augefcunt.

XXXV. Erat eâ tempestate Romæ Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos: qui, quia, in dissensione Regum, Jugurthæ adversus fuerat, deditâ Cirtâ et Atherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albius, qui proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Ruso consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidiâ cum metu urgeat; regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Ayidus Consul belli gerundi, moveri quàm senescere omnia malebat. Ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia obvenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis præsidii est: quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor animi impediēbat: Bomilcari, proximo ac maxumè fido sibi, imperat, *pretio, sicuti multa consecerat, infidiatōres Massivæ parēt, ac maxumè occultè: sibi id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat.* Bomilcar maturè Regis mandata exsequitur: et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremò loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: dein,

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## N O T Æ.

XXXIV. Jugurtha being ordered to answer to Memmius's interrogatories, is forbidden by Bæbius, who breaks up the assembly.

4 Eum] Bæbium.

7 Quæstio] Inquisition.

XXXV. Jugurtha causes Massiva to be assassinated, he is ordered to leave Rome.

1 Ordo.—Quidam Numida nomine Massiva, filius Gulussæ, nepos Masinissæ, erat ea tempestate Romæ: qui, quia in dissensione regum, fuerat adversus Jugurthæ, abierat profugus ex Africa, Cirta dedita, & Atherbale interfecto.

2 Regum] Jugurtha, Atherbal and Hiempsal.

6 Invidia cum metu] Invidia, with public odium, on account of the crimes

he had committed; metu, with the fear of losing his kingdom.

9 Macedonia] The kingdom of Macedonia, which was very inconsiderable before the time of Philip, father of Alexander the Great, extended itself, under that prince, into Thessaly, Epirus, and Thrace. It still retains its ancient name.

10 Amicis] Such of the Romans as he had before corrupted.

12 Sicuti multa] The same Bomilcar had already prevented their sending an army to Numidia, and their declaring Jugurtha an enemy to the state.

15 Talis negotii artifices] Well-versed in such business, that is, in assassinations.

16 Loca atque tempora] His haunts and hours.

ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad eadem parati erant, paullo inconsultius Massivam aggreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus, et in primis Albino Consule, indicium profertur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium, Bomilear; comes ejus, qui Romam fide publicâ venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animadvertit, super gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquàm in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis, quam vadibus consulens, clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit: veritus, ne reliquos popularis metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret. Et ipse paucis diebus eodem profectus est, jussus a senatu Italiâ decedere. Sed postquam Româ egressus est, fertur, sæpe tacitus eo respiciens, postremò dixisse: *urbem venalem et mature perituram, si emptorē invenerit.*

XXXVI. In-

## N O T Æ.

2. *Paullo inconsultius*] These words import his being a little too rash or forward, and not waiting till an opportunity offered of cutting off *Massiva* privately; for this murder appears to have been committed in a pretty open manner, and accordingly we see the murderer is immediately apprehended.

4. *Indicium profertur*] Makes a full discovery.

*Fit reus magis ex æquo bonoque, &c.*] *Æquum* denotes that which is just and reasonable in itself, and *bonum* that which conduces to publick utility, or to the security, interest, felicity and honour of society. By *æquum bonumque* then we may understand the law of nature, which is equally binding in all countries; and by *jura gentium*, the usages established between nations by mutual consent or long custom.

5. *Comes ejus*] The attendant of him, that is, *Jugurtha*.

8. *In priore actione*] *Actio* here signifies an action in law, or a process before a court, which consisted of several parts, such as, 1. The summoning or citing the offending person to the court at the instance of the *Actor* or *Plain'iff*, and this

they called *in jus vocare*. 2. The *accusatio* or impeaching of him before the judges. After this a day was appointed for the trial, and then came on, 3. The *defensio* or exculpation offered by the *reus* or accused person for his own vindication.

4. The *disceptatio causa*, or pleading of the lawyers on both sides. 5. The *latio sententiæ*, or pronouncing of sentence. See *Kennet*, III. cap. xvii. xviii. xix & xx. *In priore actione* does not signify in a former process, but in the former part of this process; as the phrase *in summa arbore* does not signify upon a very high tree, but upon the top or highest part of the tree. See cap. cvii. n. 1.

9. *Vades dederat*] These *vades* were sureties or cautioners, who, at *Jugurtha's* request, to save *Bomilear*, upon his being impeached, from going to prison, became bail, or engaged themselves under a penalty, he should appear and answer at his trial. The word *vas* comes from the verb *vadere*; it was a surety which entitled the defendant *vadere*, to go, or enjoy his liberty, until the day appointed for his trial.

10. *Reliquos popularis*] The rest of his subjects, &c.

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, aliâque, quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, ut ante comitia, quod tempus haud longè aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, & alias, deinde alias moræ causas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paulò post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modò, modò pacis morâ, Consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii Regis existimarent, neque ex tantâ properantiâ tam facilè tractum bellum socordiâ magis, quàm dolo crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitorum dies adventabat; Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris proprætore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVII. Eâ tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus & L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediabat. Eâ morâ in spem adductus Aulus, quem proprætorem in castris relictum suprâ diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitûs ab Rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnisque itineribus, hieme,

## N O T Æ.

The war against *Jugurtha* is renewed: the ill success of the Roman arms in *Numidia*, in four chapters.

XXXVI. *The Consul Albinus is charged with the war in Africa: Jugurtha eludes his attacks.*

1 *Ordo*.—Albinus, bello renovato, maturat interim portare in Africam commeatum, stipendium, & alia, quæ forent militibus usui; ac ipse est profectus statim, ut conficeret bellum ante comitia, quod tempus aberat haud longè, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo.

3 *Comitia*] This word is derived from *cum* and *ire*: the assemblies were called by that name, because then the Roman people came all into one place. The *Comitia* were commonly held in the *Campus Martius*; but upon some extraordinary occasions, to elude the attacks of the Tribunes, the Consuls summoned the people to assemble at a small distance from *Rome*, as the authority of these *Plebeian* magistrates did not extend without the walls of the city.

6 *Instanti*] Sc. *Albino*.

7 *Belli modò, modò pacis morâ*] By the delays of war and negotiation, that is, by stopping one while the progress of the war, under pretence of surrendering himself; another while proposing new conditions, in order to delay the conclusion of the treaty.

*Consilii regis*] Of the king's intention: *Albinus* was afterwards accused of this, and condemned.

XXXVII. *Disturbances at Rome: the Proprætor Aulus engages in a winter expedition against Jugurtha.*

1 *Seditionibus*] Seditions or divisions: this word is compounded of *se*, the same as *seorsum* and *itis*, dividing or going apart.

3 *Continuare magistratum*] To continue themselves in their magistracies another year, which was forbidden by the Roman laws.

5 *Conficiundi belli*] Of putting an end to the war.

7 *Ex hibernis*] Out of their winter quarters.

hieme asperâ, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi Regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquàm et sævitiâ temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat: (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat) tamen aut simulandi gratiâ, quò Regi formidinem adderet; aut cupidine cæcus, ob thesauros oppidi potiundi vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, subdolos ejus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantis legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ducere. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos diu noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim uti transfugerent, corrumpere; alii, signo dato, locum uti defererent. Quæ postquam ex sententiâ instruit; intempestâ nocte, de improvviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, percussî tumultu insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars terribos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium, cælum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremò fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos antè paulò corruptos

## N O T Æ.

2 *Opportunitate loci*] The advantageous situation of the place; he means advantageous for the inhabitants.

3 *Ordo*.—Nam planities limosa fecerat aquis hyemalibus paludem circum murum situm in extremo montis prærupti.

6 *Vineas agere*] See a former note upon this word: *agere*, is to bring them towards the walls.

*Aggerem jacere*] *Aggeres* were mounts or banks of earth thrown up, and raised to such a height, that they equalled or exceeded the height of the town-walls. From these the soldiers discharged their missive weapons upon the inhabitants, and so protected their own men from their assaults, till they had time to undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines.

XXXVIII. Jugurtha surprises Aulus in his camp, and obliges the Romans to

pass under the yoke.

2 *Missitare*] To send frequently.  
*Supplicantis*] Acc. plural.

3 *Per saltuosa loca*] Through places covered with woods: *saltus* comes from the verb *salio*, to leap; Scil. *in quo sese saliant*.

*Tramites*] Cross ways; *a tra*, *vel trans meando*, because they cut the direct road.

6 *Exercitum*] Sc. *Romanum*; he tampered with the Roman army.

7 *Turmarum*] A troop of 30 horse, quasi *terma* aut *ter dena*.

8 *Locum uti defererent*] To abandon their posts.

9 *Intempestâ nocte*] In the dead of night; *intempesta*, unseasonable for any business.

12 *Trepidare*] They were in confusion.

13 *Periculum anceps*] Danger on all hands.



corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, & paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad Regem: et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam, nūc defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit: eaque Numidae cuncti irrumpere. Nostri fœdâ fugâ, plerique abjectis armis, proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostis, quò minùs victoriâ uterenter, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha, altero die cum Aulo

1 Cohors] The Cohors consisted of three Manipuli, in each of which were two Centuria, containing at first 120 or 200 men, but afterwards augmented in proportion to the number of soldiers in each Legion.

Ligurum] The Ligurians inhabited that part of Italy, now possessed by the Genoese.

Thracum] Antient Thrace, was bounded on the north, by mount Hæmus, which divided it from Masia; on the east, by the Euxine sea and the Propontis; on the south, by the Egean sea; and on the west, by the river Strymon, by which it was separated from Macedonia. It is now called Romania or Rometia, and its capital Constantinople, the Imperial residence of the Grand Seigneur.

2 Gregariis militibus] Private men, or, as we express it in this kingdom, common soldiers; from grex, a flock.

Centurio primi pili] A legion, when drawn up in battle order, consisted of three lines, placed parallel to, and behind, one another, with large spaces of ground, like streets or avenues, between them. The first or foremost of these lines were called the hastati, from the spears which they used to fight with. The middle line were the principes, so called, because, in antient times, before the institution of the hastati, they composed the first line, and began the fight. The third or last line were the triarii, so called from their position, as being marshalled in the third rank: They were also called pilani or pilarii, from their weapons the pila. Now each of these lines were divided into ten manipuli, and three manipuli, viz. one out of the hastati, one out of the principes, and one out of the triarii made a cohort: By this means the legion consisted of ten cohorts. Each manipulus had a commanding officer called a Centurion, and sometimes two, who, according to

their dignity or place of honour, were denominated primus, secundus, tertius, &c. Thus the first or chief centurion among the hastati was named Primus hastatus, and the next in dignity to him Secundus hastatus, &c. The first among the principes was called Primus princeps, and the next secundus princeps, &c. In like manner the first among the triarii or pilani was denominated Primus pilus or Primpilus, or Centurio primi pili, and the next Secundus pilus, &c. And as the order of the triarii was more honourable than that of the principes, and the principes than the hastati, it naturally followed, that the centurio primi pili was superior to all the centurions in the legion. This officer, besides his name of Primpilus, was known by several other honourable titles, as Dux legionis, Præfatus legionis, Primus centurio, and Primus centurionum. He had the care of the eagle or chief standard of the legion, and hence aquila præfata is to bear the dignity of Primpilus. Nor was this station only honourable, but also profitable, for he had an extraordinary stipendium allowed him: Hence Juven Sat. xiv. v. 197. Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus Adferat. When he left the service, he was reputed equal to one of the equestrian order, and bore the title of Primpilarius, as those who had discharged the highest offices of the state were stiled ever after Consulares, Censorii, Prætorii, Quæstorii and Edilitii. The rod called vitis was not peculiar to the Primpilus, but common with him to all the centurions, as being the badge of their office; and hence vitem poscere signifies to sue for a centurion's place or post.

4 Ed] Sc. parte.

6 Quò minùs victoriâ uterentur] From making a proper use of the victory: quò minùs is the same as ut non.

in colloquio verba facit: *tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferroque elausum tenet, tamen se memorem rerum humanarum; si secum fœdus faceret, incolumis omnis sub jugum missurum: præterea, uti diebus decem Numidiâ decederet.* Quæ gravia quàmquam et flagitii plena erant; tamen, quia mortis metu nutabant, sicuti Regi lubuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloriâ imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxumè qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant; quòd armatus dedecore potiùs, quàm manu, salutem quæstiverit. Ob ea Consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat; et tamèn interim exercitui supplementum scribere: ab sociis & nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique omnibus modis festinare. Senatus ita, ut par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus à tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidiâ deductus, in provinciâ hiemabat. Postquam eò venit: quàmquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animo ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruerat, ex copiâ rerum statuit, sibi nihil agendum.

XL. In-

# N O T Æ.

1 *Ipsum*] Aulum.

3 *Sub jugum missurum*] This *jugum* or yoke was two spears stuck in the ground, with one laid cross at the top, like a gallows. It was a custom in these times for the conqueror to make the vanquished pass under it disarmed, by way of ignominy, and in token of their subjection. Florus, l. cap. xi. ascribes this invention to L. Quinctius, who was taken from his plough, made Dictator, and went against the enemy, whom he conquered, and used in this manner, as if they had been cattle.

4 *Flagitii*] Of disgrace.

New commotions at Rome upon receiving the news of the defeat of Aulus, in two chapters.

XXXIX. The Romans are highly incensed against Aulus; the senate annul the treaty made with Jugurtha; the tribunes forbid Albinus to transport the

troops he had levied, into Africa.

3 *Timere libertati*] To fear for liberty, to apprehend the loss of it: *timere libertatem*, signifies to fear the bad effects of liberty.

4 *Manu*] By force of arms.

7 *Supplementum*] Recruits.

*Ab sociis et nomine Latino*] Socii were those allies who dwell in different parts of Italy, out of *Latium*; *Nomen Latinum* the inhabitants of *Latium*, and such as were entitled to the same privileges they enjoyed.

12 *Ut convenerat*] As had been agreed upon between Aulus and Jugurtha.

13 *In provinciâ*] Sc. *Romanâ*; that part of Africa which had before been reduced to a Roman province.

14 *Cognitis militibus*] Knowing the dispositions of his soldiers.

15 *Soluta imperio*] Discipline being slackened, or rather ruined.

XL. Interim Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, “*ut quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senatûs decreta neglexisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut imperiis pecunias acceperant; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent.*” Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidiâ pericula metuentes, quoniam apertè resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur; occultè per amicos, ac maxumè per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quam intenta fuerit, quantâque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit: magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quàm curâ reipublicæ; tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur, cæteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ fuisse suprà docuimus, inter lætitiâ plebis, & suorum fugam, trepidâ etiam tum civitate, cùm ex Mamilianâ rogatione tres quæstiores rogarentur, effecerat, ut ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed, quæstione exercitâ asperè violenterque ex rumore, et lubricine plebis; uti sæpe nobilitatem, sic eâ tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Cæterùm mos partium popularium et senatûs factionum, ac  
 Q deinde

## N O T Æ.

XL. *The Tribune Mamilius proposes the decreeing a commission for informing against all those who had shown favour to Jugurtha.*

2 *Promulgat*] *Quasi, promulgat*, publishes, proposes.

*Quæreretur*] See a former note.

3 *Legationibus, aut imperiis*] In their embassies to Jugurtha, or whilst they commanded armies against him. This was levelled at *Opimus*, and the other nine, who had been sent to divide the kingdom between him and *Atterbal*, as well as at *Bestia*, who had commanded the army in the beginning of the Numidian war.

4 *Elephantos,—perfugas*] The thirty elephants the king had delivered to the consul *Bestia*, and those who had deserted from Jugurtha to the Romans.

5 *Qui de pace*] As *Aulus* had done.

7 *Quin—faterentur*] Without confessing.

12 *Lubido*] The passion.

13 *Ordo.*—Igitur, cæteris perculsis metu, M. Scaurus, quem memoravimus supra fuisse legatum Bestiæ, effecerat inter lætitiâ plebis, & fugam suorum, civitate tum etiam trepida, cum ex rogatione Mamiliana rogarentur tres Quæstiores, ut ipse crearetur in eo numero.

14 *Suorum fugam*] Defeat of his own party.

*Trepida*] In confusion.

16 *Ordo.*—Sed, quæstione exercitâ asperè & violentè, ex rumore, & lubricine plebis uti insolentia ceperat sæpe nobilitatem ex secundis rebus, sic ceperat ea tempestate plebem.

17 *Ex rumore, et lubricine*] In conformity to report and the prejudice of the people.

Reflections of *Sallust* upon the present state of Rome, in two chapters.

XLI. *The destruction of Carthage the first cause of degeneracy and corruption of manners among the Romans.*

deinde omnium malarum artium paucis antè annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus discessit; scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incescere. Ita, quod in adversis rebus optaverant, otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cæpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt; respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat: plebis vis soluta, atque dispersa in multitudine, minus poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ triumphique erant: populus militiæ atque inopiâ urgebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, uti quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere, & vastare omnia; nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentia anteponerent; moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis, quasi permixtio terræ, oriri cæpit.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem

### N O T Æ.

- 2 *Quæ prima*] Riches and pleasures.  
 3 *Ante Carthaginem deletam*] Scipio *Nasica* had foreseen the consequence of the destruction of *Carthage*. *Cato*, the Censor, fearing the too great power of this rival Republic, was so intent upon its ruin, that after his return from *Africa*, whither he had been sent, as one of the commissioners, to adjust the differences between *Masiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, he ended all his discourses in the senate, whatever was the subject of debate, by the words, *delenda est Carthago*. *Nasica*, on the contrary, was for suffering it to subsist, as a curb to moderate and check the audacity of the *Roman* people, who were grown too insolent by success.  
 8 *Asperius acerbiusque*] *Asper* signifies sharp and rough to the touch; *acerbis*, harsh and bitter to the taste.  
 10 *Lubidinem*] Caprice, licentiousness.  
 12 *Media*] *Sci. inter duas partes*.  
 13 *Soluta*] Divided, unconnected.  
 14 *Agitabatur*] All things were managed.  
 16 *Cum paucis*] With a few of the nobles.  
 18 *Sedibus*] From their habitations and lands.  
 23 *Permixtio terræ*] As if the earth were confounded with the other elements.  
 XLII. *The cruelty of the nobility exemplified in the death of the Gracchi.*  
 2 *Vindicare plebem in libertatem*] To assert the liberties of the people.



berem in libertatem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere: nobilitas noxia, atque eò perculsa, modò per socios et nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis à plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviàm ierat: et primò Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverat. Et sanè Gracchis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis animus moderatus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quàm malo more injuriàm vincere. Igitur eà victorià nobilitas ex lubricine suâ usa, mortalis multos ferro aut fugâ extinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quàm potentiæ, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit: dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo; et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singillatim, aut pro magnitudine parem differere, tempus, quàm res, maturius deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli fœdus exercitûsque nostri fugam fœdam, Metellus et Silanus Consules designati provincias inter se partiverant: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquàm advorso populi partibus, famâ tamen æquabili et inviolatâ. Is, ubi primùm magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collegâ ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique arcessere: arma, tela,

Q 2

equos,

## N O T Æ.

3 *Societatis*] Of partnership in the administration.

4 *Paucos post annos*] There were but eleven or twelve years at the most, between the death of *Tiberius* and that of *Caius*.

6 *Triumvirum*] The *Triumviri* were three commissioners, chosen by the people to divide the conquered lands among the poor inhabitants of *Rome*.

8 *Bono*] Sc. *more*, by good measures.

10 *In reliquum*] Sc. *tempus*.

12 *Acerbius*] Too rigorously.

XLIII. Metellus makes preparations for the Numidian war: he passes over into Africa.

1 *Ordo*.—Metellus & Silanus designati consules post fœdus Auli, & fœdam fugam exercitus nostri, partiverant inter se provincias.

*Metellus*] He got the surname of

*Numidicus*, for his exploits against *Jugurtha*, and was afterwards banished, by *Marius's* means, for having refused to swear to the observance of a new *Agrarian* law passed by the Tribune *Saturninus*.

4 *Famâ—æquabili*] His character was equally respected by the people as by the senate.

*Magistratum ingressus est*] The Roman magistrates entered upon their office on the first of *January*.

5 *Cum collegâ ratus*] As *Metellus* looked upon all the other functions of the consulate, to be as much the duty of his colleague as his own, he left the exercise of them to *Silanus*, that he himself might have leisure to make the necessary preparations for the war, which was his peculiar department.

6 *Veteri exercitui*] The old army, that is, the army that was already in *Numidia*.

equos, et cætera instrumenta militiæ parare: ad hoc commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quæ in bello vario, et rerum multarum egent, usui esse solent. Cæterum ad ea patranda senatûs auctoritate, focii, nomenque Latinum, et Reges ultro auxilia mittendo: postremò omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententiâ omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magnâ spe civium, cum propter bonas artis, tum maxumè, quòd advorsum divitias invictum animum gerebat: et avaritiâ magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidiâ nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albinus proconsulis, iners, imbellis, neque periculi, neque laboris patiens, linguâ, quàm manu, promptior, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda hostium, sinè imperio et modestiâ habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quàm ex copiâ militum auxilii, aut bonæ spei accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquàm et æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventûs civium animos intentos putabat; non priùs bellum attingere, quàm majorum disciplinâ milites laborare cõgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitûsque clade percussus, postquàm decreverat non egredi provinciâ, quantum temporis æstivorum in impetio fuit, plerumque milites in stativis castris habebat: nisi cum odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari vigiliæ deducebantur: uti cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permitti cum militibus diu

### N O T Æ.

2 *Bello vario*] A war that was to be carried on many different ways.

4 *Reges*] Kings in alliance with the Romans.

XLIV. *The bad state of the army in Numidia.*

2 *Proconsule*] The Proconsul was a person continued in command after the year of his consulship was expired, or one sent to lead an army with consular authority, with this difference between him and a Consul, that he was preceded but by six Lictors, whereas a Consul had twelve.

7 *Imminuerat*] Had shortened.

12 *Stativis castris*] In a standing camp, contrary to the discipline of the Romans, who often changed their station, as well for the health of the soldiers, as, by marches and counter-marches, to inure them to fatigue.

*Odos*] The stench occasioned by such

a number of men and beasts.

*Pabuli*] Of forage.

13 *Vigiliæ ducebantur*] Nor was the watch kept: *Vigilia* was the watch kept by night, at a distance from the camp; *excubia*, that kept by day without the gates.

14 *Lixæ*] The *Lixæ* were a set of fellows who attended the camp for service, and were mostly washers, bakers, and cooks for dressing victuals; or buffoons and players for the entertainment and diversion of the officers and persons of note in the army. But the having a great many of these *Lixæ* in the camp was inconsistent with the ancient strict discipline of the Romans, which obliged the common soldiers to grind their own corn, bake their own bread, dress their own victuals, and be servants in every particular to themselves.

diu noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et Mancipiorum prædas certantes agere: eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: præterea, frumentum publicè datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremò, quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in eâ difficultate Metellum non minùs, quàm in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tantâ temperantiâ inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primò adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, "*nè quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium cibum coctum venderet; nè lixæ exercitum sequerentur; nè miles gregarius in castris, nève in agmine, servum aut jumentum haberet*;" cæteris arte modum statuisse; præterea transvorsis itineribus quotidie castra movere, juxta, ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossâ munire; vigilias crebras ponere, et eas ipse cum legatis circuire: item in agmine in primis modò, modò in postremis, sæpè in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis magis, quàm vindicando, exercitum brevè confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit;

## N O T Æ.

3 *Vino advectitio*] For imported wine.

4 *Publicè datum*] A certain quantity of corn was distributed once a month to every soldier, which he was obliged to grind and bake for his own use.

XLV. Metellus *restores military discipline*.

3 *Ambitionem sævitiamque*] By *ambitio* he means too great an indulgence, in order to gain the favour of the soldiery; by *sævitia* too much severity in punishing.

*Ordo*.—Namque Metellus dicitur sustulisse primo edicto adjumenta ignaviæ, ne quisquam venderet in castris panem, aut quem alium cibum coctum: & prohibuisse, ne lixæ sequerentur exercitum; ne miles gregarius haberet in castris, nève in agmine, servum, aut jumentum.

6 *Nève in agmine*] Nor on a march.

9 *Ipse cum legatis circuire*] In the Roman camp watches were kept at each of the four gates, and these were relieved

every three hours; so that there were four sets in the night. And, to keep the men on the watch strictly to their duty, there was a *circuitio vigilum*, or a visiting of the watch, performed four times every night. This, for a long time, was the business of the Tribunes, at length they were allowed to execute this part of their office by deputies; and at last a set of men were appointed for the purpose, called *circitores*. This *circuitio* Metellus and his lieutenants take the trouble of themselves.

10 *In primis—postremis*] In the van and rear.

13 *Vindicando*] By punishing.

The advantages gained over Jugurtha by Metellus, in forty one chapters.

XLVI. Jugurtha sends ambassadors to demand peace of the Consul: Metellus gets their promise to deliver the King into his hands.

accepit; simul de innocentia ejus certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad Consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat, genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos aggreditur; ac paulatim tentando, postquam opportunos sibi cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, "*uti Jugurtham maxumè vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent*:" cæterum palam, quæ ex voluntate forent, Regi nunciari jubet. Dein ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti Regis obviam procedebant, parati, frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter, ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, latè explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delectâ manu apud primos erat: in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrûmque latus equites auxiliosos tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permisti velites, quocumque accederent, equitatus hosti-

um

## N O T Æ.

1 *De innocentia ejus*] By *innocentia* in this place is meant, that quality or virtue that rendered him proof against bribes, and made him reject all such offers with scorn and contempt.

3 *Cum suppliciis*] Messengers, who went to sue for peace, carried in their hand a branch of olive or laurel, which they called *supplicia*. Hence *Virg. Æneid. VII. v. 153.*

*Centum oratores angusta ad mœnia regis Ire jubet, ramis velatos Palladis omnes: Donaque ferre viro, pacemque exposcere Teucris.*

See *cap. cviii. n. 1.*

7 *Diversos aggreditur*] He accosts them apart one from the other.

*Opportunus*] Fit for his purpose.

9 *Maxumè*] Chiefly, that is, if possible.

*Parum procedat*] Did not succeed.

10 *Ex voluntate forent*] *Mair* translates this passage, by, *what his pleasure was*;

but might it not as well signify, what would be agreeable to the King.

11 *Intento atque infesto exercitu*] With an army prepared to encounter danger, and to annoy the enemy.

14 *Commeatum*] *Commeatus* is ammunition, provisions or any other necessities that go with an army.

17 *Insidiis locum tentare*] They sought an opportunity of drawing him into a snare.

18 *Expeditis cohortibus*] Light armed cohorts, who carried no baggage.

19 *Apud primos*] In the van.

*In postremo*] In the rear.

20 *In utrûmque latus*] Into both wings.

22 *Velites*] They were a body of light troops, chiefly designed to aid the cavalry: it was customary with them, in going to attack the enemy, to leap up behind a horse-man, and when they had approached near enough, to leap off again.



um propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, ut, absens, vel præsens, pacem, an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longè ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxumè celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc Consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, etsi paterentur opportunitates loci, præsidium imposuit; præterea imperavit frumentum, et alia, quæ bello usui forent comportare: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et comæatum juvaturum exercitum et jam paratis rebus munimentum fore. Inter hæc negotia Jugurtha impensius modò legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare: præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, Consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: Regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum expectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, cæterum re bellum asperrimum erat: urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostibus cognitus, animi popularium tentati, coactus rerum necessitudine

## N O T Æ.

XLVII. Metellus *places a garrison in Vacca*; *he amuses the King with the hopes of a peace.*

1 *Ordo*.—Oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vacca, erat haud longè ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, forum rerum venalium totius regni celebratum maxime; ubi multi mortales generis Italici consueverant incolere, & mercari.

2 *Forum rerum venalium*] *Forum* from *fero*, to carry, properly signifies a place where commodities are carried to be sold: it is also used to denote any public place where men assemble to transact business.

3 *Maxumè celebratum*] Most frequented.

4 *Simul tentandi gratiâ*] *Supple*, et imponendi præsidium, *si opportunitates loci paterentur*, if the situation of the place admitted of it.

8 *Jam paratis rebus munimentum fore*] Would be a security to the acquisitions he had already made.

9 *Impensius*] More frequently and earnestly.

11 *Illectos*] Enticed.

*Ad proditionem*] *Jugurthæ*.

12 *Abnuere*] Properly signifies to refuse or disapprove of any thing by throwing back the head, or by some other dumb sign; but it is often used to signify a verbal refusal.

XLVIII. *Jugurtha despairing of peace, resolves to make a vigorous resistance.*

1 *Composuit*] Compared. *Componere* properly signifies to join or place together; and as different things cannot be compared, if they be not placed in the same point of view, hence *componere* is used to express comparing.

*Suis—artibus*] The same arts he himself had used, to draw *Aulus* into a snare.

3 *Re*] In reality.

*Urbs*] *Vacca*.

4 *Popularium*] Of his subjects: he means

tudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quam maxumas potest copias omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens à meridie, nomine Muthul; à quo aberat mons fermè millia passuum xx. tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum

N O T Æ.

means the ambassadors in particular, with whom *Metellus* had been tampering, in order to prevail upon them to betray their master.

4 *Ordo* — Flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul, erat in ea parte Numidiæ, quam Atherbal possederat in ea divisione.

*In divifione*] In the divifion of the kingdom, made between *Atherbal* and *Jugurtha*, by the *Roman* ambassadors.

5. *A meridie*] From the south: *a* or *ab* before an ablative case has seven different significations; 1. Motion from a place, as here. 2. Time, as, *a puero te novi*, I knew you when a boy. 3. After a verb passive, it shews the efficient cause or agent, as *vicus est a Scipione*, he was conquered by Scipio. 4. It signifies after, as *a morte* after death; *a cena*, after supper; *a Rege secundus*, next after the King. 5. For, or in defence of, as, *a nobis stat*, he stands for us, that is, he aids or defends us. 6. Placed before the names of employments or dignities, it denotes him who enjoys such dignity, as, *a poculis*, a cup-bearer; *ab epistolis*, a secretary. 7. Before a person's name, it is used to express his habitation.

as, *a Judice*, from the Judge's house.

6 *Millia passuum viginti*] The copiest, or the author, seems to have mistaken the distance in this place, for it is not probable that *Rutilius*, who must have left *Metellus* when the day was already somewhat advanced, could march twenty miles in such a hot climate, fortify a camp, defeat a body of the enemy, return to meet *Metellus*, the same evening, and conduct this general, with his fatigued and wounded men, to the camp he had prepared on the banks of the *Muthal*; nor is it likely that *Metellus* himself could, after a whole day's toil, for it was evening when the battle ended, march to so great a distance that night.

*Tractu pari*] In a parallel situation with, and of a length equal to its distance from the river.

7 *Ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur*] To assist the reader's imagination in comprehending the situation of the mountain, the river, the hill, and *Metellus's* rout, I shall here give a representation of them by a figure.

North.

[illegible]

South.

sum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta, penuriâ aquæ: præter flumini propinqua loca: ea confita arbuſtis pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

**XLIX.** Igitur in eo colle, quem, transverso itinere, porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuatâ suorum acie, confedit: elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus electis suos collocat: dein singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens, monet atque obtestatur, "*uti memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritiâ defendant: cum iis certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum, mutatum: quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisâ; locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus,*

## N O T Æ.

1 *In immensum pertingens*] Extending an immense way.

2 *Arido*] Sc. *Sol.*

**XLIX.** Jugurtha lies in ambush for Metellus, and encourages his soldiers to the attack: the Roman general perceives the stratagem, and prepares to meet the Numidian.

1 *Transverso itinere*] In a cross direction to the mountain.

2 *Extenuatâ suorum acie*] His army being stretched out, by thinning the ranks.

*Elephantis*] The eastern nations were the first who trained elephants to war; nor have we any account of their being employed against the Romans, until the time of Pyrrhus's descent into Italy. On their backs were wooden towers filled with soldiers, armed with various kinds of missile weapons; besides the vast weight of the beasts crushed numbers of the enemy, who, terrified at so monstrous an appearance, knew not at first how to defend themselves: but the Romans in a short time found means of rendering them as destructive to those who employed them, as they had before been to those against whom they were led: This was by forcing them back upon their own men, which more than once decided the fortune of the day: Every elephant had a guide, who rode upon his neck, and if at any time the beast was so outrageous, as to

become quite ungovernable, the guide took care to kill him as soon as possible, by driving a long knife, with a mallet, into the spot where the head and neck are joined. The Romans made no use of elephants, until the year 553, when in their war with Philip, king of Macedon, they employed a few they had taken from the Carthaginians.

5 *Manipulos*] The Manipulus, consisting of 2 Centuria, one half Roman, and the other Latin, was so called from a bundle of hay, tied to a pole, which, in the infancy of the republic, was the standard or ensign of each company of manipulus.

6 *Victoriæ*] His victory over Aulus.

9 *Omnia suis provisâ*] Every precaution had been taken by him for his soldiers.

10 *Locum superiorem*] A higher ground.

*Uti prudentes cum imperitis*] This may be taken in a double sense; Jugurtha might imagine that the enemy would fall into his ambush before they discovered it, and then the meaning will be, *I have taken care that you should be previously informed that you are to engage, and also that the enemy should be quite ignorant of it; and this from the circumstances, as well as from the tenor of the discourse, I take to be the most natural sense. Sallust has already told us, that it was one of the motives for Jugurtha's*

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hazarding

pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum confererent; proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnis labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maximarum ærumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritum, uti quemque, ob militare facinus, pecuniâ aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremò, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitendo, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare: cum interrim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur; primò dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque confederant, neque planè occultati humilitate arborum, at tamen incerti, quidnam esset: cum naturâ loci, tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullispèr agmen constituit; ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere, quod proximum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispersit: equitatum omnem in cornibus locat: ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicut instruxerat, transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed

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hazarding a battle, that the country was well known to the enemy, *ager hostibus cognitus*. However, *Crispinus*, and *Mair* seems to favour his opinion, explains it, *prudentes locorum cum imperitis locorum*.

4 *Viritum*] Man by man.

5 *Pecuniâ aut honore extulerat*] Had raised to riches or honours.

6 *Eum ipsum*] The man he had so raised he shewed to others as an encouragement to them to behave well. This was speaking at once to the senses and passions.

*Pro cujusque ingenio*] According to every ones character and natural disposition.

9 *Ordo*.—Nam equi, & Numidæ confederant inter virgulta, neque occultati plane humilitate arborum, & tamen erant incerti quidnam esset: quia ipsi Numidæ, atque signa militaria erant obscurati, cum natura loci, tum dolo.

10 *Humilitate*] On account of the lowness of the shrubs.

11 *Incerti*] Leaving it uncertain what they were: that is, they did not appear so plain, as to make it certain what the object was.

12 *Dolo*] By stratagem, or design: they concealed themselves as much as possible.

14 *Triplicibus subsidiis*] Metellus's army,

as now ranged, consisted of four lines; the first of which was that next to *Jugurtha*, and is called *prima acies*, or *principia*; the other three lines, that were drawn up behind the first, and which here come under the name of *subsidia* or *reserves*, we may imagine to have been the *hastati*, the *principes*, and the *triarii*.

15 *Inter manipulos*] In forming any of the four lines mentioned just now, there was left an empty space between one *manipulus* and another; and these vacant spaces Metellus fills up with the archers and slingers.

16 *Pro tempore*] As the shortness of the time allowed.

17 *Transvorsis principiis*] The meaning of these words may be thus illustrated. Imagine that, in the figure annexed to Note 7 of the preceding chapter, the length of Metellus's army, as drawn out upon the mountain, reached from A to B, in which position, as they all stand with their faces to the south, the right wing will be at A, and the left at B; and as they are drawn up in four lines, the southernmost of these lines will be the *prima acies*. Now imagine that all of them, without altering their place or station,

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L. Sed ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopiâ aquæ, nè siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet: existumans, hostis crebro impetu & transvorsis præliis iter suum remoratorios, et quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistra alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duum millium peditum montem occupat, quâ Metellus descenderat: ne fortè cedentibus adversariis receptui, ac post munimento foret; dein, repente signo dato, hostis invadit. Numidæ alii postremos cedere; pars à sinistra ac dexterâ tentare; insensu adeste atque instare: omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modò eminus fauciabantur, neque contrâ feriundi, aut conferendi manum copia erat; antè jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Roma-

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tion, be only made to front another way, that is, to turn their faces from the south to the east, and then in this order pursue their march down the mountain, with their right side towards *Jugurtha*; by this means the line that made the *prima acies*, as they stood marshalled on the mountain, will be the right flank in the march, and the horse that composed the left wing on the mountain will now lead the van, or be the foremost in the march: And this is what our author intends by the phrase *transvorsis principibus*.

L. *Jugurtha attacks the Romans, and puts them in disorder.*

2 *Anni tempore*] It was the summer season.

3 *Rutilium*] *Rutilius* was consul with *C. Marius* in 648, and being afterwards accused of extortion, he was, tho' innocent, condemned: yet, notwithstanding this iniquitous sentence, being told by a certain person, that a civil war was upon the point of breaking out, and that then all the exiles would be recalled, he replied, that he had rather his country should

banish him unjustly, than mourn for his return.

4 *Ad flumen*] *Sc. Muthul.*

5 *Transvorsis præliis*] By charging him in flank.

6 *Lassitudinem et sitim militum*] *Id est, milites per lassitudinem et sitim*, they would endeavour to distress his soldiers by fatigue and thirst.

7 *Pro re atque loco*] As his circumstances and situation required.

*Sicuti*] As, that is slowly and in the same order.

8 *Post principia*] *Marius* must have been immediately behind the first line; for, if we suppose, that every man kept his rank, turning only to the left when the order of the march was changed, the whole army must march in columns, and then, *post principia* cannot signify the same thing as in a regular order of battle, that is between the *Principes* and *Triarii*.

13 *Postremos*] Those in the rear.

16 *Ludificati*] Baffled.

*Incerto prælio*] By this irregular manner of fighting.

*Ipsi modò*] The Romans only.

norum turma insequi cœperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius aliò quàm maxumè divorſi. Ita numero priores, si a persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant, disiectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quàm campi, fuerat; eo verò consueti Numidarum equi facilè inter virgulta evadere: nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

LI. Cæterùm facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda atque miserabilis: dispersi à suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa, neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permisti; nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum dici processerat, cùm etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minùs instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat; eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa confederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "*ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostis fugientis vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quò cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita.*" Sed nec Jugurtha quidem intereà quietus erat; circuire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia: subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo duo imperatores, summi viri, inter se, certabant: ipsi pares, cæterùm opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat,

### N O T Æ.

2 *Alius aliò*] Different ways: one one way, and another another.

*Numero priores*] Being superior in number.

3 *Disiectos*] Dispersed in the pursuit.

6 *Insolentia loci retinebat*] The want of knowing the ground retarded.

LI. *The confusion of both armies. Metellus rallies his men.*

1 *Facies totius negotii*] The appearance of the whole action.

2 *Cedere*] Fled;

4 *Consilio*] By conduct.

7 *Minùs instare*] To press on more faintly.

8 *Milites in unum conducit*] He draws his soldiers into one body.

*Cohortes legionarias*] Legionary cohorts. He uses the word *legionarias*, to distinguish them from the auxiliary troops that were in *Metellus's* army.

9 *Eorum*] Sc. *Numidarum*.

10 *Simul orare*] *Metellus* at the same time entreated.

11 *Ne deficerent*] Not to be discouraged.

12 *Illis*] *Romanis*.

15 *Hostibus dubiis instare*] Pressed upon the enemy where they wavered, that is, upon those who had not yet come to a resolution whether to fight or fly.

*Firmos*] Resolved.

LII. *Jugurtha is defeated: Bomilcar prepares to attack Rutilius's camp.*

crat, locus adversus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; (et jam diei vesp̄er erat) adverso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique, pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurthâ suprâ diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quò præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid, ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium confedis-  
 se jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri; veritus, ne legatus, cognitâ re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arte statuerat, quò hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improvise pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt; nam prospectum ager arbutis confitus prohibebat. Et primò rati humum aridam vento agitari: pòst ubi æquabilem manere, et, sicut acies movebatur, magis magisque appropinquare vident, cognitâ re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicut imperabatur, consistunt. Dein, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidæ tantummodò remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disiectos circum-

## N O T Æ.

1 *Locus adversus*] The disadvantage of the ground.

*Opportuna*] Favourable.

3 *Adverso colle*—*evadunt*] Literally thus; the hill being against them, they ascend; that is, they ascend the opposite hill.

4 *Amisso loco*] Sc. *colle*: this post being lost.

6 *Ignara*] Unknown; it is here taken in a passive signification.

7 *Præfectum*] Supple *esse*. The perfect inf. pas.

10 *Quietus*] Sc. *Bomilcar* draws up his men without any hurry or noise.

11 *Confedis se jam*] Was already encamped.

12 *Animo vacuum*] Void of apprehension.

13 *Laborantibus suis*] To his friends in distress. *Laboro* comes from the verb *labor*, *lapsus sum*, and signifies to be deprived of strength: *id ex quo labuntur vires*.

14 *Quò*] That.

15 *Officeret*] He might obstruct.

LIII. *Bomilcar is defeated by Rutilius.*

2 *Prospectum*—*prohibebat*] Intercepted the view.

3 *Æquabilem*] Constant.

5 *Pro castris*] Before the camp.

6 *Ventum*] Intellige *esse*: a neuter passive.

7 *Remorati*] Made a stand.

8 *Impeditus*] Entangled.

*Disiectus*] Separated.

circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt: ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi, læti-que, erant; tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviâ procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primò, obscurâ nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, veluti hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et pæne imprudentiâ admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repentè gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti appellant, acta edocent, et audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cælum fert. Quinque Numidæ ita sese habent: in victoriâ vel ignavis gloriâ; adversæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

LIV. Metellus in eisdem castris quadriduo moratus, faucios cum cura reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione, laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, "*ad cætera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro præda fore.*" Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitare; cum paucis esset, an exercitum haberet; uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et naturâ munita receperat; ibique coge-

## N O T Æ.

2 *Integri*] Unhurt: ab in et teger, i. e. langor.

4 *Opere Castrorum*] With fortifying their camp. It was an invariable custom with the Romans, whether the enemy was near or at a distance, to fortify their camp with a ditch and a rampart.

5 *Amplius opinione*] Beyond their expectation.

7 *Ordo.*—Ac ipsi milites utrorumque, postquam erant inter se haud procul, nocte obscura, adventare strepitu, veluti hostes, & facere alteri apud alteros simul formidinem & tumultum.

10 *Imprudentiâ*] Through mistake.

12 *Acta edocent atque audiunt*] Mutually relate, and listen to the account of, their several exploits.

15 *Bonos detrectant*] Casts a reproach upon the brave.

LIV. Jugurtha raises a new army:

Metellus ravages Numidia, and takes possession of many fortified towns. The King defeats a party of the Romans.

1 *In iisdem castris*] In the camp near the river Muthul.

3 *Quæ levia sunt*] Which were inconsiderable.

5 *Ordo.*—Tamen misit interim transfugas, & alios opportunos ad hoc, exploratum, ubi gentium, aut quid agitare Jugurtha, ne esset cum paucis, an haberet exercitum, & uti victus gereret sese.

*Transfugas*] Deserters were very proper to be sent as scouts, not only because they knew the country, but as they could expect no pardon from their former friends, they must, of necessity, be faithful to their new allies.

7 *Uti*] How.

*Exploratum*] The first spy.



bat exercitum numero hominum ampliolem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quam belli cultorem. Id eâ gratiâ eveniebat, quod præter equites regios nemo omnium Numidarum ex fugâ Regem sequitur; quò cujusque animus fert, eò discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt etiam tum Regis animum ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri non posset; præterea inimicum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos, vinci, quam suos vincere: statuit non præliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in loca Numidiæ opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temerè munita, aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque, puberes interfici jubet; alia omnia militum prædam esse. Eâ formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent; affatim præbita: ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multò magis, quam prælium malè pugnatum ab suis, Regem terrebant. Quippe cujus spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur; et, qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex inopiâ, quod optimum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus, Romanos palantis repente aggreditur; eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur: nemo omnium intactus profugit; et Numidæ, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos collis discedunt.

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: uti seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco,

## N O T Æ.

1 *Ampliolem*] Scil. *priore exercitu*.  
*Hebetem*] Unfit for service, heavy, without spirit.

3 *Nemo—ex fuga regem sequitur*] This custom of abandoning their prince or general after a defeat was not peculiar to the *Numidians*. Sacred writ ascribes the same to the *Israelites*. *Herodotus* informs us, this was customary in most of the nations in *Asia*. *Herodian* gives the like account of the *Parthians*. *Thucydides* says, this was the practice of the *Illyrians*; and *Tacitus* gives the same account of the *Germans*.

7 *Illius*] Regis, scil.

9 *Præliis*] Skirmishes; acie, in a pitched battle.

11 *Castella*] A diminutive of *castra*, forts or castles, where garrisons are kept.

*Temerè munita*] Fortified in haste.

17 *Sua loca*] The places he himself had chosen, as the most convenient for carrying on the war.

18 *In alienis*] In those places already in possession of *Metellus*, where he had all the advantage.

23 *Subveniretur*] Assistance could come: a neuter passive.

LV. *Rejoicings at Rome for the advantages gained by Metellus: this general takes precautions against Jugurtha, who continually harasses his army.*

2 *In adverso loco*] In a disadvantageous situation.

loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli socordia, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fugâ coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta diis immortalibus supplicia decernere: civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere: de Metello fama præclara esse. Igitur eò intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita quò clarior, eò magis anxius erat: neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant: exercitus partim ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quàm prædâ, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longè inter se, castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant: cæterum, quò fuga atque formido latius cresceret, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collis sequi: tempus, aut locum pugnae quærere: quâ venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontis, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modò se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere; postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in collis regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari: neque prælium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; urbem magnam, et in eâ parte, quâ sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare: ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, à perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat. Præterea pollicetur,

## N O T Æ.

2 *Magnificum*] Elate.

4 *Supplicia*] Thanksgivings. The number of days decreed by the senate, for public thanksgivings, was generally in proportion to the success of their generals.

7 *Opportunus fieret*] He should be exposed.

9 *Effuso exercitu*] With his army dispersed.

12 *Inter se*] Supple, *distantes vel distantibus*.

15 *Sequi*] Sc. *Romanos*.

16 *Corrumpere*] *Grotius* and *Crispinus*

ful. imagine that *Jugurtha* poisoned the springs; an action not uncommon among the antients.

LVI. Metellus, unable to bring *Jugurtha* to a battle, resolves to besiege *Zama*. *Marius* puts the King to flight at *Sicca*.

3 *Zamam*] What the situation of this city was, is very uncertain; all that we know of it is, that it was five days march, S. W. or according to *Polibi*us, west of *Carthage*.

8 *Firmissimum erat*] Was most faithful.

In tempore semet cum exercitu affore, Ita compositis rebus, in loca quam maxumè occulta discedit, nullò post cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus ~~in~~ missum: quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab Rege defecerat. Eò cum dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, & jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magnâ voce Siccenses hortatur, "*ut cohortes ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam illis præclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu ætatem acturos.*" Ac nî Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent; tantâ mobilitate sese Numidæ gerunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullisper ab Rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit; id oppidum in campo situm, magis opere, quam naturâ munitum erat: nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deinde, signo dato, undiquè simul clamor ingens oritur; neque ea res Numidas terret; insensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars

S

eminus

## N O T Æ.

1 *In tempore*] In proper time, as soon as his presence should be requisite.

3 *Frumentatum*] The first supine: to get corn for the army.

*Siccam*] *Sicca*, called also *Sicca Veneræ*, now *Keff*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, is situate 72 miles, W. S. W. of *Tunis*.

4 *Malam pugnam*] His unsuccessful battle.

6 *Uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant*] To attack the Roman cohorts in the rear.

8 *Casum*] A favourable opportunity. The words *fortunam*, and *casum* intimate the necessity of seizing this opportunity; for as fortune, by *chance*, which is implied in the word *casum*, presented it, so if it was now neglected, they might never find such another.

9 *Signa inferre*] To march against the enemy: literally to carry the standards against them.

11 *Fidem*] The fidelity they had promised to the Romans. The word *mutavissent*, strongly marks the inconstancy of this people, who had already been the first to revolt to *Jugurtha*, and were now

again, without any provocation, ready not only to revolt, but even to attack *Marius*.

13 *Discedunt*] This word shews the manner in which the *Numidians* always retreated, viz. in disorder; for *di* and *dis* in composition, as has been already observed, signify different ways. A regular retreat, is generally expressed by the words, *cedere*, *fugere*, or *terga vertere*.

LVII. Marius arrives at Zama; Metellus attempts to storm the city.

2 *Magis opere, quam naturâ munitum erat*] It was better fortified by art than nature.

3 *Pro tempore atque loco*] As the time and place required.

6 *Insensi intentique*] *Insensi*, ready to annoy the enemy; *intenti*, prepared to defend themselves.

7 *Pro ingenio*] Seems here to signify, not only the natural disposition of each, but also the manner of fighting he had been trained to.

eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare; evadere alii, alii succedere, ac murum modò subfodere. ~~---~~ scalis aggredi: cupere prælium manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere; fudes, pila, præterea pice et sulphure tædam mistam, ardentia mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam pleròsque jacula, tormentis aut manu emissa, vulnerabant: parique periculo, sed famâ impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improvîso castra hostium cum magnâ manu invadit: remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magis, quàm prælium, expectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Cæterum ex omni multitudine non ampliùs quadraginta, memores nominis Romani, grege factò, locum cepere, paullò, quàm alii, editiorem; neque inde maxumâ vi depelli quiverunt: sed tela eminùs missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minùs frustrati: sin Numidæ propius accessissent, ibi verò virtutem ostendere et eos maxumâ vi cedere,

## NOTÆ.

1 *Glande*] The *glans* was a leaden ball, made in the form of an acorn, which was cast with a sling.

*Lapidibus*] Stones cast either with the hand, or with the *Ballista*, a military engine in use among the antients, somewhat like our cross-bow, but much bigger: it was used in the besieging of cities, to throw in stones, and sometimes darts and javelins; and such was its force, that it could cast stones from 100 to 300 pounds weight. It was called *Ballista* from *βαλλειν*, to throw.

*Evadere*] They who were wounded or fatigued retired, and others supplied their place.

2 *Subfodere*] Undermined the walls.

*Prælium manibus facere*] To come to a close engagement.

5 *Nec—timor animi satis muniverat*] Nor did their cowardice sufficiently protect.

6 *Tormentis*] All kinds of military engines used to throw any thing with force to a distance, were called *tormenta*.

7 *Famâ impari*] They who approached the walls acquired greater honour than those who kept aloof, altho' both parties were exposed to equal danger.

LVIII. Jugurtha takes the Roman camp by assault, but is repulsed by Marius.

2 *Ordo*.—Irrumpit portam, remissis iis, qui erant, in præsidio, & expectantibus magis omnia, quam prælium.

3 *Portam*] The figure of the Roman camp was four square, and on each side of the square was a gate. That next to the enemy was called the *Prætorian* gate, because it faced the general's tent; opposite to this was the *decuman* gate, which had its name from the rank of the cohorts that encamped near it, viz. *decimæ cohortes*. The gates on the two other sides were called *principales*, because the tents of the chief officers of the army extended towards these gates, on both sides of the general's tent.

4 *Pro moribus*] According to his disposition.

7 *Grege factò*] Having formed a body.

8 *Tela—missa remittere*] They threw back the darts, that were cast at them by the enemy.

9 *Pauci in pluribus minùs frustrati*] The Romans were so few, and the enemy so numerous, that the former could scarce miss their aim: *frustrati* is taken here in a passive sense.

LIX  
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dere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus cū accerrimè rem gereret, clamorem et tumultum hostilem a tergo accepit: deinde, convorso equo, animadvortit fugam ad se versum fieri: quæ res indicabat popularis esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra properè mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque lacrumans "*per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostis inultos abire sinat*:" ille brevī mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cū alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recipit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quàm ad oppugnandum egredere-  
tur, equitatum omnem in eâ parte, quâ Regis adventus erat, pro  
castris agitare jubet: portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit: dein  
ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, uti superiore die, murum aggreditur.  
Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repentè nostros invadit. Qui in primo  
locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui citò subveni-  
unt. Neque diutius Numidæ resistere quivissent, nī pedites cum  
equitibus permisti magnam cladem in congressu facerent; quibus illi  
freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, dein cedere: sed advorsis  
equis concurrere, implicare, ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis pe-  
ditibus suis, hostis pænè victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magnâ vi certabatur. Ubi  
quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eò accerrimè niti; neque  
S 2 alius

## N O T Æ.

4 *Popularis esse*] That they were his  
own soldiers.

7 *In exercitu victore*] Sc. *Romans*.

9 *Angustiis*] Sc. *Portarum*.

11 *Infecto negotio*] Having failed in  
his attempt to take the city.

LIX. *Jugurtha a second time attacks  
the Roman camp, and is again repulsed.*

2 *Quâ regis adventus erat*] Where the  
king's approach was apprehended.

3 *Agitare*] To keep guard.

5 *In primo*] Next to himself.

6 *Reliquis*] *Milites Romani*.

8 *Cladem*] *Romanorum*.

8 *In congressu*] In the joint attack.

*Quibus illi*] Id est, *quibus peditibus  
illi equites Jugurthini*.

10 *Implicare*] The *Numidian* horse and  
foot attacking the *Roman* cavalry in con-  
cert, hemmed them in so, that they could  
not make a proper use of their arms.

11 *Hostis*] *Romanos*.

LX. *Metellus gives a new assault to  
Zama: the inhabitants defend themselves  
courageously: night at length puts an end  
to the fray.*

2 *Curabat*] *Commanded*.

*Eo*] *There*.

alius in alio magis, quam in sese spem habere: paritèrque oppidani agere; propugnare, aut parare omnibus locis; avidius alteri alteros fauciare, quàm semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu: item strepitus armorum ad cælum ferri: tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paullulum modò pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant; eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modò, modò pavidos animadvortetes: ac, sicuti audiri à suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, huc et illuc, quasi vitabundi aut jacentes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est (nam is in eâ parte curabat) consultò leniùs agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu Regis prælium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repentè magnâ vi murum aggreditur: et jam scalis egressi milites propè summa ceperant, cùm oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primò resistere: dein, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui superfeterant, afflicti sunt; cæteri quo quisque modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus abeunt. Deinde utrimque prælium nox diremit.

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum; neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco, pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit: et in iis urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Cæterum exercitum in provinciam, quæ proxuma est Numidiæ, hiemandi gratiâ collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum mōre, quieti aut luxuriæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum

## N O T Æ.

7 *Uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant*] According as matters went with *Jugurtha*.

9 *Niti*] Lean.

11 *Diffidentiam rei*] A diffidence of success.

12 *Sine tumultu*] Without molestation.

13 *Studio suorum adstrictis*] Engaged by their zealous concern for their friends.

14 *Scalis egressi*] Stepping off the ladders.

15 *Ignem, alia præterea tela ingerunt*] Whatever is thrown with the hand is called *telum*: And so fire, wherewith one defends himself, or annoys his enemy, comes also under this denomination. *Liv. IV. cap. xxxiii. Ignibus armata in-*

*gens multitudo, facibusque ardentibus tota colluens velut fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit.*

*Ingerunt*] Pour upon them.

16 *Comminutæ*] Were broken.

17 *Afflicti sunt*] Sc. *in terram*. Were overthrown.

LXI. Metellus raises the siege of Zama, and engages Bomilcar to deliver Jugurtha into his hands.

2 *Suo loco*] On an advantageous ground to himself.

4 *Leco*] By their situation.

7 *Ex aliorum mōre*] According to the custom of other generals.

bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidiâ pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde clam, vadibus datis, de Massivæ nece judicium fugerat, quod ei per maximam amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primò efficit, ut ad se colloquendi gratiâ occultus veniat: dein, fidè datâ, "*si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet*," facilè Numidæ persuadet, cùm ingenio infido, tum metuenti, ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primùm opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, "*ut aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optumè meritæ, provideat: omnibus præliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos, occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveat, ne, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant*." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: "*qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac sine ullâ pactione sese regnûmque suum in illius fidem tradere*." Metellus properè cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnis, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine morâ facta sunt, jubet perfugas omnis vinctos adduci; eorum magna pars, uti jussum erat, adducti: pauci, cum primùm deditio cæpit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecuniâ spoliatus est, cùm ipse

## N O T Æ.

3 *Judicium*] His trial.

8 *Sua omnia*] Because whatever he possessed was confiscated, when he forfeited his bail, or, as we call it, his recognizance.

LXII. *The King betrayed by Bomilcar, consents to surrender at discretion to the Romans.*

2 *Miserantem*] Bewailing.

3 *Aliquando*] At length.

5 *Comminutas esse*] Were greatly impaired.

9 *Imperata*] Whatever should be commanded by the consul.

*Sine ullâ pactione*] Without any conditions.

10 *In illius fidem*] To his honour.

13 *Pondo ducenta millia*] Two hundred thousand pounds weight. *Pondo* is an undeclinable noun of the neuter gender, derived from *pondo*, to weigh.

ipse ad imperandum Tifidum vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, & ex malâ conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumtis, cum modò tædio rerum advarsarum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum secum ipse reputaret, quàm gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque prædiis nequicquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. Et Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticæ fortè C. Mario per hostias Diis supplicanti, "*magna atque mirabilia portendi*," haruspex dixerat: "*proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus Diis ageret: fortunam quàm sæpissimè experiretur; cuncta prospere eventura*." At illum jam antea consulatûs ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abundè erant: industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubricinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primùm ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græcâ facundiâ, neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artis bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit.

### N O T Æ.

1 *Ad imperandum*] A gerund taken ing against an enemy was properly called passively; to be commanded, that is, to *bestia*, and that the *victim* was offered receive the Consul's commands. after a victory was obtained: *Gallius* on

*Tifidum*] A city of the Roman province in *Africa*: some will have it to be the *Tibica* of *Ptolemy*, between *Thabraca* and the river *Bagradas*, in the mid-way between *Carthage* and *Utica*. the contrary will have it, that the *bestia* might be sacrificed by any priest after the defeat of an enemy, whereas the *victim* must be offered by the conqueror in person: *Festus* thinks that the word *bestia* is derived from the old word *bestire*, which signifies the same thing as *ferire* to strike, and *Ovid* makes it come *ab bestibus victis*; the latter also tells us, that if a beast fell on its right side, when sacrificed, it was called *victim*.

*Flectere animum suum*] To change his mind.

2 *Digna*] Sc. *supplicia*.

7 *Senatus—consultus*] The senate had the privilege of nominating the consuls to the government of provinces, and, when their year was expired, to continue the command to them, with the title of *Proconsuls*. 2 *Haruspex*] The *Haruspices* got their name *ab harugis*, id est, *bestiis inspicendis*; because they pretended to foretell future events, by inspecting the entrails of the victims.

LXIII. *A character of Marius; an account of his family, and of his promotion in the army.*

1 *Ordo*.—*Haruspex dixerat, magna atque mirabilia portendi*, C. Mario supplicanti forte per idem tempus Uticæ diis per hostias. 5 *Præter*] Except. 7 *Belli*] Id est, in bello.

*Uticæ*] *Servius* is of opinion, that the victim offered by those who were go- 9 *Arpini*] *Arpinum* was a city of the *Samnites*, situate upon the river *Liris*: it is now called *Arpino*.

*Altus*] The participle of *alor*.

10 *Urbanis munditiis*] In city-refinements.

11 *Integrum*] Uncorrupted.



vit. Ergo ubi primùm tribunatum militum à populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facilè notus per omnis tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, ut ampliore, quàm gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) consulatum appetere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore & quasi pollutus haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspici dicta eodem, quò cupido animi hortabatur, intendere videt; ab Metello petundi gratiâ missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloriâ atque alia optanda bonis, superabant, tamen inerat contemptor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primùm commotus insolitâ re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, "*ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: deberi illi res suas satis placere: postremò careret id petere à populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.*" Postquam hæc atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur; respondit, "*ubi primùm potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret.*" Ac postea sapius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, "*ne festinaret abire:*

## N O T Æ.

2 *Ignorantibus*] Most of the Romans were strangers to his person, because he had been always with the army.

*Declaratur*] Sc. *Tribunus militaris.*

4 *Ampliore*] Intellige, *potestate, eâ.* The Ellipsis can scarcely be filled by supposing *quam* to be a conjunction; but by taking it as a relative governed by *gerebat*, it will be very plain.

5 *Ad id locorum*] Until that time.

6 *Præceps datus est*] He was hurried headlong.

7 *Plebes*] Nom. sing.

8 *Per manus*] From hand to hand.

LXIV. Marius solicits Metellus for permission to go to Rome, to stand for the Consulship, but is refused: he inveighs bitterly against his general.

2 *Petundi*] Sc. *consulatum.*

*Missionem rogat*] By the sacramentum or military oath, all the Roman soldiers, officers not excepted, were bound

not to leave the army under any pretence whatsoever, or absent themselves from their duty, without the special leave of the general, and this leave was called *missio*: Of which there were several kinds, such as *missio honesta*, when an old soldier was discharged from the service. *Missio causaria*, when one, on account of indisposition, was allowed to be absent from his duty; and hence such invalids are by Livy called *militæ causarii*. *Missio ignominiosa*, when a person was turned out of the army by way of disgrace and punishment. *Missio gratisa*, when leave was sought or granted by way of favour, as here in the case of Marius.

3 *Cui*] Metello.

*Bonis*] Viris.

6 *Ne tam prava inciperet*] Not to engage in so preposterous an undertaking.

9 *Jure negaretur*] Might be justly refused him, as he was a new man.

*abire: satis maturè illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum.*" Id eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. quæ res Marium cum pro honore, quem affectabat, tum contra Metellum, vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque irâ, pessumis consulatoribus, grassati: neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modò ambiciosum foret: milites, quibus in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quàm antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminose simul, ac magnificè de bello loqui: "*dimidia pars exercitus si sibi permetteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et superbiæ regiæ imperio nimis gauderet.*" Quæ omnia illis eò firmiora videbantur, quòd diuturnitate belli res familiaris corrumperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat præterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Manastabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento heredem secundum scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam causam mente paullulum imminutâ. Cui Metellus petenti, morè Regum uti sellam juxta poneret; item postea custodiæ causâ tur-

mani

# NOTÆ.

1 *Is*] The son of Metellus.

2 *Contubernio patris*] In the Roman camps, those who lodged in the same tent, being commonly eight or ten, were said to be in *contubernio*, or were called *contubernales*. And the young noblemen who attended the army, under the care and inspection of the general, in order to gain some experience in military affairs, were commonly lodged in the general's tent or pavilion; and so were on that account called *imperatoris contubernales*, or said to be in *ejus contubernio*.

3 *Pro honore*] This reflection, or rather sneer of Metellus, at the same time that it made Marius more eager to obtain the post he aspired to, highly incensed him against his commander.

5 *Quod—ambiciosum foret*] By which he might acquire popularity.

8 *Criminosè—et magnificè*] By blaming Metellus, and boasting of his own abilities.

10 *Consulto—trahi*] Was designedly protracted.

11 *Homo inanis*] A vain man, ambitious of power, but void of merit.

Roman knights, merchants, and soldiers; that were in Africa, to write to Rome against Metellus, and to request that he himself should be sent to command the army.

3 *Heredem secundum*] Masinissa had nominated Gauda next heir to the crown, in default of Atherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, whom he had appointed co-heirs, and his immediate successors.

4 *Mente paullulum imminutâ*] Somewhat weakened in his intellects.

5 *Sellam juxta poneret*] In the Roman armies, the general had a chair of state, called *sella castrensis*, on which he placed himself as on a throne or bench, when he gave audience to ambassadors, sat in judgment, or presided in any council of war. Round him the lieutenants and other persons of distinction took their place; and if any king, happened to be in the army, he was allowed the honour of sitting next to the general on the right hand.

*Custodiæ causâ turmam*] Gauda was probably under apprehensions that Jugurtha might hire some ruffians to murder him, the way he had dispatched Massinissa at Rome; and therefore petitioned Metellus for a life-guard.

LXV. Marius prevails upon Gauda, the

LX

nam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem, quod eorum modò foret, quos populus Romanus Reges appellavisset; præsidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum in imperatorem cum suo auxilio pœnas petat; hominem ob morbos animo parùm valido secundâ oratione extollit: "*illum Regem, virum ingentem, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurthâ captus, aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiæ sine morâ habiturum: id adeo maturè posse evenire, si ipse Consul ad id bellum missus foret.*" Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque pacis spes impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios asperè in Metellum de bello scribant; Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi à multis mortalibus honestissimâ suffragatione consulatus petebatur. Simul eâ tempestate plebes, nobilitate fuscâ per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurthâ, postquam, omissâ deditione, bellum incipit, cum magnâ curâ parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia affectare: communire suos locos, arma, tela, aliâque, quæ spe pacis amiserat,

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## N O T Æ.

2 Reges appellavisset] Reges appellabantur ab Romanis, more solemnî, quæ & amici & socii.

3 In eos] Sc. in equites Romanos.

6 Secundâ oratione] By a flattering speech.

10 Equites Romanos] By equites he does not mean the cavalry that served in Numidia, but the farmers of the public revenue, who were of the equestrian order.

13 Illi] Mario.

Honestissimâ] This manner of procuring the consulship was very honourable for Marius, because he seemed to be courted to accept of, rather than to sue for, it.

14 Nobilitate fuscâ] The nobility being terrified and astonished.

Per legem Mamiliam] The law passed by the tribune Mamilius, for informing against such of the nobles as had favoured Jugurthâ, and made him despise the orders of the senate.

LXVI. The garrison, placed by Metel-

lus in Vacca, is slaughtered by the Numidians.

1 Interim] This word means the interval of time, since Marius went to Utica. Jugurthâ, seeing no probability of a favourable reception, resolves to renew the war.

Incipit] If Sallust be not supposed to have intended an Ellipsis here, he must have been guilty of a very great impropriety, as no good author ever used the word *incipere*, to signify, either the renewal, or continuation of an action; and if he did intend, his admirers cannot but acknowledge, that he is guilty of a most ridiculous affectation of brevity: for the sentence must be filled in some such manner as this, *incipit quæcumque ad bellum necessaria forent iterum parare*. Did ever Cicero, Cæsar, Livy, or even Tacitus express themselves so, or affect such brevity? This I have the rather insisted upon, as none of the commentators have taken the least notice of it.

4 Affectare] To allure.

amiserat, rescire, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecuniâ tentare: prorsus nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vaccenses, quò Metellus initio, Jugurthâ pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciiis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: ham vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxumè Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio adversum; dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt; quòd is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis, quàm formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militaris, et ipsum praefectum oppidi L. Turpilius Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnis, praeter Turpilius, inter epulas obruncant: postea milites palantis, inermis, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati: queis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improvise metu, incerti ignarique, quid potissimum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant:

### N O T Æ.

1 *Servitia*] The slaves; *efficientibus*.

*Allicere*] To entice by a promise of freedom.

2 *Intactum*] Unattempted.

3 *Quò*] Another proof of Sallust's affectation: for in what respect can Vaccenses and quo coincide? It may be said, that quo being an adverb, agrees with either singular or plural number; but if it can be proved that altho' quo should be an adverb, it cannot be referred to persons, but to places; if it can be moreover proved, that neither quo, nor any other case o. qui, quis, &c. can be an adverb, it is to be hoped it will be allowed that Sallust has here a very unnatural Ellipsis. However it must be supplied thus, as the investigation would be too tedious, Igitur Vaccenses, qui illud oppidum tenebant, in quo, &c.

7 *Discordiosum*] Prone to discord.

9 *Festus*] What the occasion of this festival or holyday in Africa was, we know not: for the Roman Festi consult Ovid or Kennet's antiquities.

12 *Praefectum oppidi*] The governor of

the town. Here is another Ellipsis of Sallust, very common with good authors, for praefectus cannot possibly be a substantive. It is used for virum imperio, vel rebus oppidi praefectum.

14 *Quippe in tali die ac sine imperio*] It being a festival, and they free from duty. Quippe qui, cum festus esset dies, inermes ac sine imperio palabant.

15 *Edocti*] Instructed: a nominative case plural of the masculine gender, agreeing with viri or homines included in plebes.

LXVII. A dreadful confusion reigns in Vacca during the massacre. Turpilius alone escapes.

2 *Arcem*] The citadel: both antients and moderns, in all their fortified cities, have commonly taken care to erect a fort on the most eminent spot of the town, which served to keep the inhabitants in awe, in time of peace, and was their last refuge in case of an assault or storm.

*Scuta*] The scutum, so called from σκῦτος, the leather with which it was covered,



erant: præsidium hostium, portæ antè clausæ fugam prohibebant: ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ locus præbebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque à fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse: juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncati. In eâ tantâ asperitate, sævissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius præfectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiæ hospitii, an pactiorie, an casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita integrâ famâ potior fuit, improbus instabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vaccæ actis comperit, paulisper mœstus è conspectu abit: dein, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta sunt, cum maximâ curâ ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum quâ hiemabat, et, quàm plurimos potest, Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit: et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quandam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentis omnia docet, “*oppidum Vaccam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, pœnas caperent*,” præterea prædâ benignè ostendat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latere, pedites quàm artissimè ire, et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vaccenses ubi animadvortere, ad se vorsum exercitum pergere:

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### NOTÆ.

vered, differed from the *clypeus* only in form. The former was oblong, the latter round.

2 *Pro tectis ædificiorum*] Into the streets from the roofs of the houses.

3 *Anceps malum*] The danger was doubtful: that is, they knew not whether to defend themselves against them in the streets, or against those who threw stones, &c. from the tops of the houses.

5 *Inulti*] Unrevenged; as they were unarmed, they could make no resistance.

8 *An casu ita evenerit*] *Plutarch*, in his life of *Marius*, tells us, that *Turpilius* was guilty of no treachery, and that his escaping at this time was owing not to chance, but purely to the regard the people of *Vacca* had for him, on account of his lenity and gentle government.

9 *Instabilisque*] Infamous, detestable;

properly, a man who can neither make a will, nor inherit by the will of another. In *Rome*, slaves, and such as were branded with public infamy, could neither make a will nor inherit.

LXVIII. Metellus marches to *Vacca*.

2 *E conspectu*] From public view.

*Ægritudo*] Sorrow.

3 *Ultum*] To revenge: 1st supine.

5 *Horam tertiam*] The *Romans*, in all times of the year, reckoned 12 hours from the rising of the sun, until the setting. *Macrobius* says, that *hora* comes from *horos*, which, with the *Egyptians*, signified the sun.

10 *Prædâ*] The plunder of *Vacca*.

LXIX. Metellus retakes and plunders *Vacca*: *Turpilius* is punished with death.

gere: primò, uti res erat, Metellum esse ratì, portas clausere: dein, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditésque, repentè signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppidò cedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars tures capere: ira atque spes prædæ ampliùs, quàm lassitudo posse. Ita Vaccenses biduum modò ex perfidià lætati: civitas magna et opulens pœnæ cuncta, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, suprà ostendimus, jussus à Metello causam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus, verberatusque, capite pœnas solvit; nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectusque Regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere: ad perniciem ejus dolum querere; diu noctuque fatigare animum; denique omnia tentando, focium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus clarum, acceptumque popularibus suis: qui plerumque seorsum ab Rege exercitum ducere, et omnis res exsequi solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cætera, uti res

## N O T Æ.

2 *Primi aderant*] Marched in the van.

5 *Oppidò*] In great number.

7 *Pœnæ*] Put to the sword, *aut prædæ* or plundered.

10 *Capite pœnas solvit*] Was put to death: We learn from *Plutarch*, that *Marius* was very pressing to have *Turpilius* put to death; not because he thought he deserved it, but because he knew him to be a man heartily in the interest of *Metellus*. But as the innocence of *Turpilius* came, soon after his death, to be discovered, this among other things gave occasion to the great hatred which *Metellus* conceived against *Marius*.

11 *Nam is civis ex Latio erat*] Tho' a general in the Roman army had a very great authority, yet, after the *Porcian* law, neither he, nor any one else, could punish a native citizen of Rome with rods or death; the highest punishment, that could legally be inflicted, being that of banishment. But the people of *Latium*, and the other allies in *Italy*, tho' they formed,

in a sort, part of the commonwealth, and enjoyed several immunities, yet had not this privilege extended to them; and therefore they might be sentenced to death, or other punishments, according to the demerit of their crime. And here further notice, that, before the *Porcian* law, condemned criminals at Rome were commonly first scourged or lashed with rods, and then put to death: Accordingly we find this form of procedure observed here in the case of *Turpilius*. See *Cat.* cap. li. n. 4. Others, think the name superfluous, for they say, that the *Porcian* law did not extend to the military.

LXX. Bomilcar forms a conspiracy against Jugurtha.

1 *Ordo*.—Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha inceperat deditionem facere, quam deseruit metu, suspectus regi, & ipse suspiciens eum, cupere per idem tempus res novas.

8 *Majoribus adstricto*] Engaged in matters of higher concern.

res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager, in ultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris percussus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediēbat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne, omisso veterē consilio, novum quæreret, literas ad eum per homines fidelis mittit, in quēis *mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare, testari Deos, per quos juravisset; monere, ne præmia Metelli in pestem suam converteret; Jugurthæ exitium adesse; cæterum suâne, an Metelli virtute periret, id modò agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum mallet.*

LXXI. Sed cū eæ literæ allatæ, fortè Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat; ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primò cura, dein, ut ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimum, particeps. Qui postquam allatas literas audivit, ex consuetudine ratus operâ aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit: dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temerè positam, fumit ac perlegit; dein properè, cognitis insidiis, ad Regem pergit. Nabdalsa, post paullò experrectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, ut acta erat, ex perfugis cognovit; primò indicem persequi conatus; postquam id frustrâ fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratiâ accedit, "*quæ ipse paravisset, perfidiâ clientis sui facere*"

## N O T Æ.

1 *Ex tempore*] According as circumstances should require.

2 *Inter hiberna Romanorum*] Sallust either means, that Nabdalsa's army lay among or between the Roman garrisons placed in such towns of Numidia as had submitted to Metellus; or we must take *inter* to signify *hard by* or *near to*; a sense in which it is sometimes used; and then the meaning will be, that Nabdalsa's army lay upon the borders of Numidia, not far from the Romans, who were quartered in the province, as we are told, *cap. lxi.*

6 *Novum quæreret*] He should engage in a new design, viz. of betraying him to the king.

9 *Suâne*] By their own; that is, by the valour of Bomilcar and Nabdalsa.

10 *Præmia, an cruciatum*] Rewards, if

they should assassinate or deliver him to the Romans; punishment, if Jugurtha should discover the plot, or Metellus should get them into his power before they had performed their promise.

LXXI. *The plot is discovered to Jugurtha.*

3 *Ægrum*] Oppressed with care.

*Ordo.*—Quidam Numida curator negotiorum erat ei fidus, & acceptus, & particeps omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi.

4 *Negotiorum curator*] The manager of his affairs.

5 *Novissimum*] Of the last; that is, the plot against Jugurtha.

6 *Ingenio suo*] His counsel.

12 *Paravisset*] Had resolved to do.

*cere prævntum: lacrumans obtestatur per amicitiam, perque suâ antea fidelitèr acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."*

LXXII. Ad ea Rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placidè respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos focios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram opprefferat: ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id negotiorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuit: neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civis, hostisque juxtâ metuere: circumspicere omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, sæpe contra decus regium noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine, quasi vecordiâ, exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectioe, simul et invisum, et offensum sibi, parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, literis, quæ de Metello ac Mario missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ antea decori fuerat, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat; cæterum in utroque magis studia partium, quàm bona, aut mala sua moderata. Præterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, ut opifices agrestesque omnis, quorum res fidésque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Itâ, percussâ nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus

### N O T Æ.

LXXII *The conspirators are punished; Jugurtha is under great apprehensions of treachery.*

3 *Ordo.*—Neque dies, aut nox ulla fuit Jugurthæ quieta post id.

8 *Tumultum facere*] Made a great bustle.

LXXIII. *Marius goes to Rome; is chosen Consul, and gets the command of the war against Jugurtha.*

3 *Fatigantem de profectioe*] Importuning him for leave to depart.

*Invisum*] Unwilling to remain.

4 *Parum idoneum*] Sc. *ad bellum fidelitèr gerendum.*

8 *In utroque*] Id est, in Metello et Marii.

*Studia partium*] Party zeal.

*Quàm bona, aut mala sua*] Than their own good or bad qualities.

9 *Seditiosi magistratus*] He means the tribunes.

10 *Capitis arcessere*] Id est, in crimen capitis, accused him of capital crimes.

*In majus*] Quam quæ fuit.

14 *Pest multas tempestates*] After a long time. Q. Pompeius was the last Plebeian, who had, thirty-five years before this time, been raised to the consulship, and Cicero was the first after Marius, who had the same honour conferred upon him.



consulatus mandatur. Et postea populus à tribuno plebis Manlio Mantino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurthâ bellum gerere? frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paulò antè Metello Numidiam decreverat: ea res frustrà fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum pleròque ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad Regem Bocchum profugerant; cùm neque bellum geri sine ministris posset, novorumque fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabatur: neque illi res, neque consilium aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera præfectosque in dies mutare: modò adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fugâ, ac post paulò in armis spem habere: dubitare, virtuti an fidei popularium, minùs crederet; ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repentè se Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein prælium incipitur. Quâ in parte Rex pugnæ affuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: cæteri omnes ejus milites primo congressu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum, et armorum et aliquanto numero hostium potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus præliis magis pedes, quàm arma tutati sunt.

LXXV. Eâ fugâ Jugurtha impensius modò rebus suis diffidens, cum per fugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam, pervenit, id oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam fluménque proximum, in spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat; tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnis asperitates supervadere,

## N O T Æ.

2 *Frequens*] In a full assembly.

4 *Ea res frustrà fuit*] Id est, *Senatus decretum frustratum fuit*. The decree, by which the senate had committed the management of the war to *Metellus*, was annulled, or rendered of no effect.

LXXIV. *Jugurtha, rendered desperate by the treachery of his friends, comes to a battle with Metellus; he is defeated.*

3 *Bocchum*] *Bocchus* was king of *Mauritania*; his dominions were contiguous to *Numidia*.

*Administris*] General officers.

4 *Novorumque*] New officers.

5 *Agitabatur*] He was perplexed.

6 *Præfectisque*] His officers.

14 *Aliquanto numero*] A small number.

16 *Pedes*] Flight.

LXXV. *Jugurtha flies to Thala: he is pursued by Metellus.*

2 *Thalam*] *Thala* was a city of *Africa Propria*, whereof the situation is not now known.

4 *Cultus*] Ornaments.

7 *Omnis asperitates supervadere*] To surmount all difficulties.

vadere; ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta farcinis levare jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: cæterum utres modò, et alia aquæ idonea portare. Præterea conquirat ex agris quàm plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi; sed pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitum imperat, qui se post Regis fugam Metello dederant, quàm plurimum quisque aquæ portaret, diem locumque, *ubi prælio forent*, prædicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam aquam oppido esse suprà diximus, jumenta onerat. Eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Dein ubi ad id loci ventum, quò Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt; tanta repente cælo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut eà modò exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in novâ deditione, officia intenderant. Cæterum milites religione pluvîa magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese Diis immortalibus curæ esse. Dein postera die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magnâ atque insolitâ re percussî, nihilo segniùs bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed Rex nihil jam Metello infectum credens, quippe qui omnia; arma, tela, loca, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, cæteris imperitantem, industriâ vicerat, cum liberis et magnâ parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit: neque postea in ullo loco ampliùs unâ die, aut unâ nocte, moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratiâ properare; cæterum prodicionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat; nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitatē capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum, et operibus et loco, munitum videt, vallo fossaque mœnia circumvenit. Deinde jubet locis ex copia maxumè idoneis vineas agere, insuper aggerem jacere, et  
super

## N O T Æ.

2 *Utres*] Leather bottles for carrying water. than they were ordered to do.

3 *Quàm plurimum potest*] As many as he can: *plurimum* refers as well to number as to quantity.

4 *Domiti pecoris*] Of tamed cattle; such as horses, mules, &c.

14 *Officia intenderant*] Had exceeded their duty; that is, they had done more

LXXVI. Metellus takes Thala, after a siege of forty days.

1 *Infectum*] Impossible.

6 *Posse*] Sup. *se*.

8 *Loco*] By its situation.

9 *Ex copia*] Sc. *locorum*;

super aggerem impositis turribus opus et ministros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo antè labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quàm eò ventum erat, oppido modò potiti: præda omnis a perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas afflictas vident, aurum, argentum et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pendere.

LXXVII. Sed paritèr cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, “*uti præsidium præfectumque eò mitteret; Hamilcarem quendam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges viderent: nò id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore.*” Nam Leptitani jam inde à principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam Consulem, et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Dein, ubi ea impetrata fuere, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta à Bestiâ, Albino, Metelloque imperata gnaviter fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eò cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est, quos accepimus, profugos ob discordias civilis, navibus in eos locos venisse: ceterùm situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duò sunt sinus propè in extremâ Africâ, impares magnitudine, parî naturâ: quo-

U

rum

## N O T Æ.

1 *Administros*] The workmen.

2 *Nihil reliquum fieri*] Nothing was left undone.

3 *Arietibus feriri*] The ram, says Josephus, was a vast long beam, like the mast of a ship, strengthened at one end with a head of iron, somewhat resembling that of a ram, whence it took its name. This was hung by the middle with ropes fastened to a beam that lay cross a couple of posts, and hanging thus equally balanced, it was by a great number of men violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, till, by reiterated strokes, it had shaken and broke down the wall with its iron head. *N. B.* The ram was commonly covered with vineæ, to protect both it and the men from the attempts of

the enemy.

LXXVII. *The inhabitants of Leptis send deputies to Metellus, to beg his protection against Hamilcar.*

2 *Præfectumque*] A governor.

3 *Suam*] Sc. *Legatorum et Leptitanorum.*

*Illorum*] Romanorum.

LXXVIII. *An account of the first foundation of Leptis.*

3 *Syrtis*] The Syrtis were two sandbanks on the east of Africa; called so from *σῆρα, trabe*. The Syrtis major was 330 miles in circumference, the minor 300.

*Ex re*] From their nature.

rum proxuma terræ præalta sunt; cætera, uti fors tulit, alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et sævire ventis cœpit; limum arenamque, et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur: Syrtes ab tractu nominatæ. Ejus civitatis lingua modò convorsa connubio Numidarum: legum, cultûsque pleræque Sidonica; quæ eò facilius retinebant, quòd procul ab imperio Regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. Sed, quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus; non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Quâ tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quòque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, unâ specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finis eorum discerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrumque legiones, item classes sæpe fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantum attriverant; veriti, ne mox victos victorésque defessos alius aggredieretur, per inducias sponsonem faciunt, "*ut certo die legati domo profisciscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.*" Igitur duo fratres Carthagine missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardiùs ière. Id socordiâne, an casu acciderit, parum cognovi. Cæterùm solet in locis illis tempestas haud secùs, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, eâ magnâ vi agitata, ora oculósfque implere: ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquantò posteriores se esse vident, et ob rem corruptam domi

pœnas

# NOTÆ.

1 *Alia in tempestate vadosa*] At other times shallow.

6 *Ab imperio Regis*] By *Regis* some understand the King of *Persia*, but others with greater reason take it to be meant of the King of *Numidia* or *Jugurtha*: For, as *Numidia* lay next them, they had, in a sort, by this time become one people with the *Numidians* by their intermarriages; and therefore it is not improbable that *Leptis* at this time was much like *Capsa* mentioned *cap. lxxxix.* that is, a free city, governed by its own laws, but under homage however to the King of *Numidia*.

LXXIX. A memorable action of two brothers, called the Philæni.

4 *Cyrenenses*] *Cyrene*, called by *Pliny* *Pentapolis*, was a city of that part of *Africa*, named *Cyrenaica*. It had its name from *Cyrene*, the daughter of *Hypseus*.

16 *Retinere*] Sc. *perigrinantes*.

*Æqualia*] Level.

*Gignentium*] Of plants and herbage: the gen. case governed by *nuda*.

19 *Ob rem corruptam*] On account of their having mismanaged the affair, and lost the advantage.



pœnas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus dōmo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quān victi abire. Sed cū Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodō æquam, peterent, Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, "*uti vel illi, quo finis populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eādē conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros.*" Philæni, conditione probatā, seque vitamque suam reipublicæ condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; aliisque illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissā Thalā, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, itē alia militaria facere. Præterea Regis Bocchī proximos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; quibus adiutoribus Regem aggressus, impellit, ut adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id eā gratiā facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petiturum; quam rem opportunissimam incepto belli pauci impediverant, cæci avaritiā, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthæ filia Bocchī nupserat. Verū ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quān plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habeant; sed Reges eō ampliūs. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nullam pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi, fide datā et acceptā, Jugurtha Bocchī animum oratione accendit: "*Romanos injustos, profundā avaritiā, communes omnium hostis esse:*

U 2

eandem

## N O T Æ.

3 *Græci optionem*] The Cyrenians are called *Græci*, as being a colony from Greece, viz. from the island of Thera, as was already observed, cap. xix. n. 6.

LXXX. Jugurtha raises an army of Gætulians; he has recourse to Bocchus.

3 *Ad Gætulos*] Gætulia was an inland country of Africa, in the Torrid Zone, south of Numidia.

5 *Ordines habere*] To keep their ranks.

6 *Proximos*] The favourites.

11 *Pauci*] A few of the Romans.

13 *Ea necessitudo*] That tie.

15 *Ea*] On account of their riches.

16 *Pro socia*] As a companion.

LXXXI. Jugurtha engages Bocchus in a war against the Romans.

1 *Ambobus*] Sc. Jugurthæ et Bocchæ.

*eandem illos causam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quæ omnia regna adversa sunt: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item Regem Persen, post, uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore.*" His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt; quod ibi Q. Metellus prædam captivisque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut, captâ urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturus. Nam callidus id modò festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne, moras agitando, aliud, quam bellum, mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de Regum societate cognovit, non temerè, neque, uti sæpè jam victo Jugurthâ consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: cæterum haud procul ab Cirta, castris munitis, Reges opperitur; melius esse ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis acceperat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Româ per literas fit certior, Mario provinciam Numidiam datam: nam Consulem factum antea acceperat. Quibus rebus supra bonum aut honestum perculsus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis mollitè ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant: alii bonum ingenium contumeliâ accensum esse: multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur: nobis satis cognitum, illum magis honore Marii, quam injuriâ suâ excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii, quam Mario, traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, "*nè sine causâ hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset; quam*

## N O T Æ.

2 *Omnia regna*] All kingly power.

3 *Persen*] *Perfes*, the last king of *Macedon*, was conquered by *Paulus Æmilius*, and led captive to *Rome*, with all his family, to adorn the victor's triumph.

9 *Pacem imminuere*] To widen the breach.

LXXXII. Metellus avoids coming to an engagement; he hears that Marius is to succeed him in the command of the army.

5 *Ex commodo*] Upon an advantage.

10 *Bonum ingenium*] His high spirit.

LXXXIII. Metellus sends deputies to Bocchus to deter him from the war: the King's answer.

1 *Stultitia*] Intellige, *proprium esse*.

2 *Alienam rem*] Another man's business, the business of *Marius*.

3 *Magnam copiam*] A good opportunity.

quamquam opibus suis confideret, tamen non debere incerta pro certis mutare: omne bellum sumi facilè, cæterùm ægerrumè desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuiusvis, etiam ignavo licere; deponi, cum victores velint; proinde sibi regnòque suo consulere; neu florentis res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret." Ad ea Rex satis placidè verba facit: "*se se pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.*" Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit. Ille probare partim, alia abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis tempus procedere, & ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, uti supra diximus, cupientissimâ plebe Consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, antea jam infestus nobilitati, tum verò multus atque ferox instare: singulos modò, modò universos lædere: dictitare, "*se se consulatum ex victis illis quasi spoliâ cepisse;*" alia præterea magnifica pro se, & illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia à populis & Regibus sociisque arcerere: præterea ex Latio fortissimum quémque, pleròsque militiâ, paucos famâ cognitos accire, & ambiundo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; cæterùm supplementum etiam lætus decreverat: quia neque plebi militiam volenti putabatur, & Marius aut belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata, tanta lubido cum Mario eundi pleròsque invaserat. Sese quisque prædâ locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum,

## N O T Æ.

7 *Illi copia*] If the same conditions were offered to Jugurtha.

9 *Ille*] Bocchus.

*Probare partim, alia abnuere*] i. e. *Ille partim probabat, partim abnucebat.* The first *partim* is frequently omitted, Cat. cap. l. *Liberti & pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, (partim) diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant: partim exquirebant duces multitudinum.*

LXXXIV. Marius inveighs against the nobility.

1 *Ordo.*—At Marius factus consul, uti diximus supra, plebe existente cupientis-

simâ, postquam populus jussit ei Numidiam provinciam gubernandum, jam antea infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus, atque ferox instare.

2 *Jussi*] The people were said *jubere*; the senate *decernere*.

3 *Multus*] Frequently and vehemently.

5 *Illis*] Sc. *Patriciis*.

*Pro se*] In favour of himself.

9 *Emeritis stipendiis*] Who had served out the time appointed by law, which was ten years.

12 *Neque plebi militiam volenti putabatur*] The service was thought disagreeable to the common people.

13 *Studia*] The affections.

diturum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant: & eos non paullum oratione suâ Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi causâ simul, & nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. Scio ego, Quirites, plerôsq[ue] non iisdem artibus imperium à vobis petere, & postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primò industrios, supplices, modicos esse; dein per ignaviam & superbiam ætatem agere; sed mihi contra ea videtur. Nam quò universa res publica pluris est, quàm consulatus aut prætura, eò majore curâ illam administrari, quàm hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul & ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; & ea agere inter invidos, occurrentis, factiones, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum & affinium opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adjunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est & virtute, & innocentia tutari; nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse: æquos bonôsq[ue] favere: quippe benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quò mihi atriùs adnitendum est, uti neque vos capiamini, & illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc ætatis à pueritiâ fui, ut omnis labores, pericula consueta babeam.

## N O T Æ.

8 Nobilitatem—exagitandi] Of inveighing against the nobility.

LXXXV. Marius makes a discourse to the people.

3 Modicos] Modest.

Dein] After they have obtained the employments they aimed at.

4 Contra] Id est, contraria faciendæ esse.

9 Occurrentis] Thwarting.

10 Opinione—asperius est] Is more difficult than is commonly imagined.

14 Alia infirma sunt] Other recommendations, such as nobility, the exploits of my ancestors, &c. are weak, for I have none.

15 Benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt] The verb *procedere* signifies sometimes to come abroad, to come to public view; and so *benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt* will signify, My good services to the state are

displayed in their view, or are full before their eyes, i. e. under their consideration. In this sense *Cortius* understands the expression, who explains *procedunt* by *reputantur, considerantur*. Marius had said in the former sentence, that the eyes of all men were turned upon him, and now he adds, that good men favoured him, or wished well to his interest, because, when they looked upon him, a train of noble heroic actions presented themselves to view, and passed, as it were, in procession before their eyes.

16 Locum invadendi] An opportunity of attacking me.

17 Uti neque vos capiamini] That you may not be disappointed in your expectations of me, nor be exposed to the insults of the nobility on account of my ill conduct.



*habeam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuitò faciebam, ea uti, acceptâ mercede, deferam, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulare: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optimis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurthâ jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrumè tulit: Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutari melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale, negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac multarum imaginum, & nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tantâ re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, uti quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quærat. At ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum & Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cæperint; homines præposterî. Nam gerere, quàm fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparete nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbîâ me hominem novum. Quæ illi audire & legere solent, eorum partim vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ea ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam & communem omnium existumo, sed fortissimum quémque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ quæri posset, mène, an illos ex se gigni maluerint; quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quàm optimos voluisse? Quod si jure despiciunt me, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cæpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentia, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verùm homines corrupti superbîâ ita ætatem agunt, quasi honores vestros contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honestè vixerint. Næ illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissimas res pariter expectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, & præmia*

## N O T Æ.

1 *Ante vestra beneficia*] Before you conferred the consulship on me.

3 *Temperare*] To behave with moderation.

7 *Id*] Sc. *decretum vestrum*.

*Ex illo globo*] From that croud.

9 *Veteris prosapiæ*] Of an ancient family. This word is derived by some persons from *presupare*, the same as *presere*; by others from *prespare*, to spread

or scatter.

*Nullius stipendii*] Of no experience in war; who never served.

11 *Monitorem officii*] To instruct him in his duty.

15 *Gerere, quam fieri*] Id est, gerere consulatam, quam consul fieri.

*Re atque usu*] By qualifications and experience.

29 *Falsi sunt*] Are deceived.

*præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cum apud vos, aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleræque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant: quod contrà est: nam quanto vita illorum præclarius, tantò horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profectò ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala eorum in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quiritès; verùm id, quod multò præclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte, quàm iniqui sint. Quod ex alienà virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meà non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, & quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certè peperisse melius est, quàm acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam mihi respondere velint, abundè illis facundam & compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio, cum omnibus locis me vòsque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere: ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei sententia, lædere nulla oratio potest; quippe vera necesse est bene prædicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam consilia vestra accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, & maxumum negotium imposuistis: etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum pœnitendum sit. Non possum fidei causà imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia dona militaria, præterea cicatrices adverso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis,*

## N O T Æ.

1 *Præmia*] Id est, honores.

3 *Contrà*] Intel. eventit.

6 *Hujusce rei*] Sc. gloriæ majorum.

14 *Corrupisse*] To have dishonoured.

12 *Compositam*] Elegant.

15 *Conscientiam*] A consciousness of guilt.

20 *Fidei causà*] To gain credit.

21 *Hastas, vexillum, phaleras*] These were rewards commonly given by a general to such of his men as had signalized themselves in any action. The *hasta* was a fine spear of wood, without any iron on it, thence called *hasta pura*: Such an one as *Sylvius* is represented to lean upon, *Virg. Æneid. VI. v. 760. Purâ juvenis qui nititur hastâ.* The *vexillum* was a standard curiously wrought, and of valuable materials. The *phalera* were of two kinds, one being a suit of rich trappings for a horse; but whether these trappings were applied as an ornament to the

horse's forehead, to the sides of his head, or to his breast, authors are not agreed. The other sort of *phalera* were worn by men, and are supposed to have been a collar, or chain of gold that surrounded the neck, and hung down upon the breast. Besides these, many other military rewards were in use among the Romans, such as the *torques*, *armille*, *patera*, and the *coronæ* of various kinds.

22 *Cicatrices adverso corpore*] Scars or wounds on the breast, or forepart of the body, were honourable, as being received with the face to the enemy; but wounds or scars on the back were disgraceful, as signifying that the person was a coward, and had received them whilst he was running away.

23 *Relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ*] *Relicta, illa*, and *quæ* are plural and neuter, referring to *imagines* and *nobilitas*.

illis, sed quæ ego plurimis meis laboribus & periculis quæfivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parùm id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque literas Græcas didici: parùm placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multò optima reipublicæ doctus sum: hostem ferire, præsidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem & æstatem juxtà pati: bumi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam & laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor: neque illos artè colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque cùm tute per mollietiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, hoc est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quæ nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; & omnis honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos à vobis repetit. Cæterùm homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram: virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me & incultis moribus aiunt; quia parum scitè convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii co-

quum,

## N O T Æ.

5 *Ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt*] The Greeks were now a conquered people, and had submitted to the Romans, and hence Marius concludes, tho' very unjustly, that there could be no excellence in the Grecian literature, since it had not inspired the Greeks with courage and fortitude, which is his sense of the word *virtutem*, sufficient to protect themselves and defend their liberty.

6 *Præsidia agitare*] Badius and Minellius think this means, to drive garrisons out of the enemy's cities. Mair translates it, *to keep an army in a posture of defence*; but might it not rather signify, to escort forragers or convoys, which was both a dangerous and an honourable post, and probably had often devolved upon Marius, whilst he was Tribune or Lieutenant.

9 *Colam*] Shall I treat.

12 *Dominum*] A tyrant who assumes such lordly power, as a master has over his slave.

19 *Sordidum*] Clownish.

20 *Histrionem—coquum, quàm villicum*] The *Histriones* here meant were buffoons,

i. e. a sort of witty fellows, somewhat like the fools who attend doctors on the stage in this country. These the noblemen in Rome kept for their own diversion, and the entertainment of such as frequented their houses, particularly at table; they, by dancing, singing, and pieces of wit and drollery, kept the company merry. The *coquus* or cook, was he who dressed the victuals, and, among the ancient Romans, was one of the meanest slaves: But when luxury came to prevail, their profession required great art and skill to please the palates of the nobles, now grown nice and delicate; and, instead of one or two cooks, some noblemen, in the luxurious days of Rome, would keep fifty or an hundred, nay, some authors say, a thousand. The *villici* were stewards or servants, who took care of noblemen's estates, and had the care of their country business. Now, in this degenerate time, some noblemen valued themselves much more upon having well accomplished buffoons and cooks, than upon having faithful and able stewards to take

quum, quàm villicum, habeo; quæ mihi lubet confiteri, Quirites, nam ex parente meo, & ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quàm divitiarum esse; arma, non supellestem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat, quod carum æstuant, id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri & turpissimæ parti corporis: sudorem, pulverem & alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verùm non est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissimè luxuria & ignavia, pessimæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil efficiunt; reipublicæ innoxie cladi sunt. Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia, poscebant, respondi; pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habete animum, Quirites. Nam quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removit, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Dein exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quàm felix. Nam magna pars ejus avaritiâ, aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas est, adnitimini mecum & capeffite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbiâ metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, & socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxtâ geram. Et profectò, Diis juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnis bonos reipublicæ subvenire decet. Etenim nemo ignaviâ immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, uti æterni forent, optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites,

## N O T Æ.

care of their estates in the country, and would have purchased them at a far higher price. But in this *Marius* differs from them.

2 *Sanctis*] Venerable.

10 *Ereptum*] The first supine.

*Ordo*.—Ita luxuria & ignavia, artes pessimæ, nihil efficiunt illis, qui coluere eas, sed sunt cladi reipublicæ innoxie.

11 *Nihil efficiunt*] Are by no means detrimental.

12 *Ordo*.—Nunc quoniam ego respondi illis, quantum mores mei, non quantum flagitia illorum poscebant; ego loquar pauca de republica.

15 *Tutata sunt*] Protected: Tutata is

the participle of *tutor*.

18 *Avaritiâ, aut temeritate ducum*] By the avarice of *Bessia*, as in *cap. xxix.* and of *Albinus*, *cap. xxxvi.* by the rashness of *Aulus*, as in *cap. xxxvii* and *xxxviii*, and probably he also has in his thought the unsuccessful attempt of *Metellus* against *Zama*, and the loss of the garrison at *Vacca*.

19 *Quibus militaris ætas*] The military age was from seventeen to fifty.

*Capeffite rempublicam*] Espouse the cause of the commonwealth.

21 *In agmine*] In the march.

23 *Juxtâ geram*] I shall treat alike.

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*Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent: nam strenuis abunde dictum puto.*

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habitâ, Marius, postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, properè commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliisque utilibus, navis onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse intereâ milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopiâ bonorum, alii per ambitionem Consulis memorabant; quòd ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; & homini<sup>6</sup> potentiam quærenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus: cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt, & omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum aliquanto majore numero, quàm decretum erat, in Afri-

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## N O T Æ.

LXXXVI. Marius *levies forces, and passes into Africa*: Metellus's army is delivered to him at Utica.

1 *Ordo*.—Marius, hujuscemodi oratione habita, postquam videt animos plebis esse arrectos, onerat propere naves commeatu, stipendio, armis, & aliis utilibus: & jubet Aulum Manlium legatum proficisci cum his.

4 *Neque ex classibus*] *Servius Tullius*, the sixth king of Rome, divided the people, according to their estates or riches, into six ranks, called *classes*, with a design to regulate the taxes, the form of procedure in the election of the magistrates, and the levying of soldiers, according to the wealth, dignity, and order of these *classes*. The first *classis* consisted of the richest citizens, and was subdivided into 98 divisions, called *centuria* or *centuries*. The second *classis* was next in dignity and wealth to the first, and consisted of 22 centuries; the third of as many; the fourth had 20; the fifth 30; and the sixth had but one. At the election of the magistrates they began with the first *classis*, and collected the votes *centuriatim*, or according to the order of the centuries in it, beginning with the first; then they proceeded to the second *classis*, and from that to the third, &c. and such assemblies were called *comitia centuriata*. In much the same manner did they proceed in levying soldiers. Those of the first *classis* being the richest, and making the greatest figure, had the peculiar name of *classici*, and all the rest, of what class soever, were said to be *infra classem*: From

hence the first-rate writers among the Romans have acquired the name of *classici authores*.

5 *Capite censor*] The sixth *classis* consisted of the poorer sort of citizens, and had very little to say in public affairs, the matter being commonly determined before it came to their turn to vote. They were scarcely ever listed for soldiers except on extraordinary occasions, as being persons who had nothing to lose at home, and therefore under the greater temptation of deserting to the enemy. They were divided into two orders, the first and more honourable were the *proletarii*, so called from *proles*, because the bringing up of children was the greatest service they did the state; the other order was the *capite censi*, so called because they were entered and valued in the rolls for their persons only: but families, children or estates, they had none: All they could boast of was, that they were not *capite minuti*, or had not lost the privilege and right of citizens. Here observe, that *Sallust* opposes *classes* to *capite censi*; and the reason is, because the whole sixth *classis*, and particularly this last order, was so inconsiderable, and in so much contempt, that they were scarcely look'd upon as a *classis* at all: And accordingly *Livy* and other Roman historians, when speaking of the *classes*, scarce mention ever more than five.

6 *Bonorum*] Of the richer sort.

9 *Cum pretio*] With gain, that is, where they have a view of gain.

cam profectus, paucis diebus Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur à P. Rutilio legato. Nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat: ne videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed Consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem & prædâ onustum proficiscitur; omnia ibi capta militibus donat: dein castella & oppida naturâ & viris parum munita aggreditur: prælia multa, cæterum alia levia, aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse; videre fugientis capi, aut occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum: armis libertatem, patriam parentesque & alia omnia tegi: gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, & virtus omnium æqualis facta. At Reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficilis abeunt. Ita Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostis invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu, laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus, contra spem suam, lætissimis animis excipitur: plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum & hostium res pariter attendere: cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra esset; explorare itinera Regum, consilia & insidias eorum antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati; itaque & Gætulos, & Jugurtham ex sociis nostris prædas agentis, sæpe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque Regem haud procul ab oppido Cirtâ armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modò, neque belli patrândi cognovit, statuit urbis, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, & advorsum

# NOTÆ.

The operations of *Marius* against *Jugurtha*, until he happily terminates the war, in twenty eight chapters.

LXXXVII. *Marius plunders the country; the two Kings retire before him.*

4 *Alia levia*] Sc. *prælia*.

8 *Coaluere*] Were incorporated.

11 *Laxius*] More remiss.

LXXXVIII. *Metellus is joyfully received at Rome: Marius endeavours to force Jugurtha to a battle.*

2 *Lætissimis animis excipitur*] He was not only joyfully received, but was afterwards honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Numidicus*, as we learn from *Vell. Pat.* II. cap. ii. *Entrop.* IV. cap.

xxviii. and other authors. He had his triumph in the year of *Rome* 646.

4 *Attendere*] Weighed.

7 *Ex sociis nostris*] From those of the *Numidians*, who had already submitted to the *Romans*.

8 *Regem—armis exuerat*] Had stripped the king of his arms, that is, had forced his troops to fly without their arms.

9 *Gloriosa*] Honourable, more specious than useful.

9 *Neque belli patrândi*] The sentence is to be resolved thus, *Quæ postquam cognovit esse modo gloriosa facta, & non facta patrândi belli, i. e. ad bellum patrândum facientia.* See *Cat.* cap. vi.

n. 5.

advorsum se opportunissimæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsiidiis nudatum; si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios sæpe ad eum miserat, "*velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret.*" Id simulaverint, quò improvisus gravior accederet, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

LXXXIX. Sed Consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando, avortere ab hostibus. Ac primò mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse, & aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora & magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentis solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa: cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, & ob ea fidelissimi habebantur: muniti advorsum hostis non mœnibus modò, & armis atque viris, verùm etiam multò magis locorum asperitate. Nam, præter oppido propinqua, omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicut omnium ferarum, inopiâ cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium ipsa perniciofa siti magis, quàm aliâ re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat: cùm propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; & Metellus oppidum Thalam magnâ gloriâ ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque: nisi quòd apud Thalam non longè à mœnibus aliquot fontes erant; Capsenses unâ modò, atque eâ intra oppidum, jugi aquâ, cæterâ pluvîâ utebantur. Id ibique, & in omni Africâ, quæ procul à mari incultius agebat, eò facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte & ferinâ carne vescébantur, et neque salem, neque

## N O T Æ.

2 *Nudatum*] *Fore.*

3 *Velle*] *Sup. se.*

LXXXIX. *The Consul, unable to bring Jugurtha to an engagement, marches to attack Capsa: a description of the intermediate country.*

3 *Mediocria*] *Matters of little moment.*

6 *Ordo.*—Oppidum magnum, atque valens, Capsa nomine, erat inter ingentes solitudines: cujus conditor memorabitur fuisse Hercules Libys.

8 *Immunis*] *Free from taxes.*

*Levi imperio*] *Under mild government.*

11 *Præter oppido propinqua*] *Except the parts contiguous to the town.*

13 *Ipsa perniciofa*] *Destructive in itself.*

18 *Jugi*] *One fountain of constantly flowing water: Jugi is the ablative case of jugis, derived from jugo or jungo.*

19 *Cæterâ*] *Id est, quoad cætera; it is put adverbially.*

que alia gulæ irritamenta quærebant: cibus illis advorsum famem et sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

XC. Igitur Consul, omnibus exploratis, credo, Diis fretus: nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat: quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidæ pabulo pecoris magis, quàm arvo, student, & quodcúmque natum fuerat, jussu Regis, in loca munita contulerant: ager autem aridus & frugum vacuus eâ tempestate: nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copiâ satis providenter exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit; A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium & com meatum locaverat, ire jubet, dicitque se prædabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Cæterùm in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualiter distribuerat, &, ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat: simul & inopiam frumenti lenire, &, ignaris omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, cùm ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrius effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet: omnibus abjectis sarcinis, aquâ modò seque & jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere factò, confedit; idem proxumâ facit; dein tertiâ, multò ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumultuosum,

# N O T Æ.

1 *Gulæ irritamenta*] Provocatives to gluttony.

XC. Marius makes the necessary preparations for his expedition.

1 *Omnibus exploratis*] All circumstances being well examined.

2 *Consilio*] By any conduct or contrivance of his own.

4 *Arvo*] To agriculture.

*Quodcúmque natum fuerat*] Whatever corn had grown.

6 *Pro rei copiâ*] According to his present circumstances.

8 *Agendum*] To be driven.

9 *Laris*] It is here the genitive case.

*Ptolemy* places this town in the country of the *Coribesiens*, to the south of *Vacca*, but where, is not known.

XCI. The Consul arrives before *Capſa*, and forces the inhabitants to surrender at discretion.

2 *Utres*] Leathern bottles for carrying water.

3 *Inopiam frumenti lenire*] He made the want of corn easy, by distributing flesh among the soldiers.

*Parare*] Scil. *utres*.

9 *Confedit*] He encamped.

*Proxumâ*] *Noctē*.



tumulosum, ab Capsâ non ampliùs duàm millium intervallo: ibique, quàm occultissimè potest, cum omnibus copiis operitur. Sed ubi dies cœpit, & Numidæ nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi; repentè omnem equitatum, & cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, & portas obsidere jubet: deinde ipsè intentus properè sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognovere; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditio- nem facerent. Cæterùm oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes inter- secti; alii omnes venum dati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus con- tra jus belli, non avaritiâ, neque scelere Consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis: genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo peregit, magnus & clarus antea, major atque clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: milites modesto imperio habiti, simul & locupletes, ad cælum ferre: Numidæ magis, quàm mortalem timere: postremò socii atque hostes credere illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut Deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed Con- sul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miseras, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eâdem asperitate, quâ Capsensium, cæterùm haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longè à flumine Muluchâ, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planiciem mons faxeus, me- diocri

## N O T Æ.

1 *Tumulosum*] Hilly; abounding with hillocks.

7 *Res trepidæ*] The confusion of their affairs.

10 *Contra jus belli*] Contrary to the law of arms, which requires that quar- ters be given to those who surrender.

12 *Aditu*] The latter supine; difficult to be come at.

XCII. *The taking of Capsa adds great- ly to the reputation of Marius: he besieges a castle belonging to Jugurtha, where he meets with a vigorous resistance.*

3 *Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem*

*trahantur*] All his successes, even when the undertaking was rash or ill-advised, were, by a forced construction, ascribed to his good conduct.

6 *Nutu*] By the intimation.

11 *Non eâdem asperitate*] The meaning is, That the project was difficult, nay, as difficult as the taking of *Capsa*; but that the difficulties in this case, and in that of *Capsa*, were not of the same kind.

*Capsensium*] Sc. *res fuerat.*

*Haud secus*] No less.

13 *Inter cæteram planiciem*] In the middle of a space, all the remaining part of which was a plain.

diocri castello satis patens, in immensum edivus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnia naturâ, velut opere atque consulto, præceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi Regis thesauri erant, summâ vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quàm consilio, melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis et frumenti & fons aquæ: aggeribus turribusque & aliis machinationibus locus importunus: iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrumque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustrâ agebantur; nam cum eæ paullò processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur: milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci; neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optimus quisque cadere, aut fauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus & laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo suo, omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat; an fortunam opperiretur, quâ sæpe prosperè usus fuerat. Quæ cum multos dies, noctesque æstuans agitare, fortè quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod advorsum præliantibus erat, animadvortit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum cum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humanæ cupidinis ignara visundi animum vortit. Et fortè in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullulùm modò prona, dein inflexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quò cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis

## N O T Æ.

1 *Satis patens*] Sc. in cumulo. The summit of which was large enough for a castle of a moderate size.

4 *Forte*] The ablative case of *fors*; by chance.

5 *Ordo*.—Nam satis magna vis virorum, atque armorum, & frumenti, & fons aquæ *erant in castello*: & locus erat importunus aggeribus, & turribus & aliis machinationibus.

7 *Importunus*] Unfit for erecting towers, &c.

*Utrumque præcisum*] Cut steep on both sides.

10 *Pro opere*] Before the works.

*Propter iniquitatem loci*] On account of the uneven ground.

XCIII. A certain Ligurian, in the Roman camp, discovers a way whereby they

might ascend the mountain, and make a report of it to the Consul.

¶ *Trahere cum animo*] Considers in his own mind.

4 *Æstuans*] This word very well expresses the irresolution and disturbed state of his mind, which ebbed and flowed, as it were, one while resolved to continue, another while to raise the siege; so that it may be translated by, *disturbed and irresolute*.

*Ligus*] The *Ligurians* inhabited that part of Italy, now subject to the *Genoese*.

7 *Cochleas*] Snails were reckoned a very delicate dish by the ancients.

10 *Ignara*] Id est, *ignota*.

11 *Coaluerat*] Had grown.

*Prona*] Bent downwards.

12 *Que*] Id est, *in altitudine*.

ramis modò, modò eminentibus faxis, nifus Ligus, castelli plantæm perscribit; quòd cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eodem regreditur, non temerè, ut ascenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium properè adit; acta edocet, hortatur; ab eâ parte, quâ ipse descenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex præsentibus misit: quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem renunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullùm arrectus. Itaque ex copiâ tubicinum & cornicinum, quinque numero quàm velocissimos delegit, & cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnisque Liguri parere jubet, & negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Cæterùm illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nifusque per saxa facilius foret: super terga gladii & scuta; verùm ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratiâ simul, & offensa quò leviùs streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, & si quæ vetustate radices eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati milites faciliùs ascenderent; interdum timidos insolentiâ itineris levare manu: ubi paullò asperior ascensus erat, singulos præ se inermos mittere; dein ipse cum illorum armis sequi: quæ dubia nifui videbantur potissimum tentare, ac sæpius eâdem adscendens ac descendens, dein statim digrediens, cæteris audaciam addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab eâ parte: quòd omnes, sicut aliis diebus, advorsum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quam

Y

quam

## N O T Æ.

1 *Eminentibus faxis*] On the jutting rocks.

2 *Perscribit*] Takes an exact view.

7 *Ducem*] Fore.

*Cognitum*] The first supine: to examine the proposal.

11 *Quatuor centuriones*] Supple. cum centuriis.

XCIV. Marius, by means of the Ligurian, forms the castle.

2 *Qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce*] Curtius thinks this reading may be tolerated, but yet has some suspicion, that the words *qui centuriis præ-*

*erant* have been a marginal note, and brought into the text by some unwary or ignorant transcriber. These being thrown out, the pronoun *illi* will denote the *tubicines*, *cornicines*, and *centuriones* mentioned toward the end of the preceding chapter, who, being nine in number, made, with their *dux* the *Ligurian*, ten persons in all, that were to go upon this enterprize.

6 *Offensa*] When struck against the rock.

10 *Dubia nifui*] Of dangerous ascent.

12 *Digrediens*] Slipping from one side to another.

quam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum verò cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine actâ succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque & funditoribus eminens terrere. At Numidæ sæpè antea vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare: maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim Romanis omnibus hostibusque prælio intentis, magnâ vi utrimque pro gloriâ atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente à tergo signa canere: ac primò mulieres & pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde, uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremò cuncti armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, ed acrius Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodò sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriæ certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic fortè correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpâ invenit.

XCV. Cæterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla Quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit: qui ut ex Latio & à fociis exercitum cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam nos tanti viri res admonuit; idoneum visum est, de naturâ cultuque ejus paucis dicere. Neque enim alio loco de Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus: & L. Sisenna optumè et diligentissimè omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ nobilis fuit, familiâ prope jam extinctâ majorum ignaviâ, literis Græcis atque Latinis juxtâ atque doctissimè eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum,

### N O T Æ.

2 *Testudine actâ*] The *testudo*, said to have been invented at the *Trojan* war, was a figure the soldiers cast themselves into, so that their targets should close all together above their heads, and protect them from the missile weapons of the enemy; and this *target-fence*, from the resemblance it has to a tortoise-shell, got the name of *testudo*. But besides this use of the word, the *Romans* in general called all their covered defensive machines *testudines*.

3 *Tormentis*] With engines which served to throw stones and other missile weapons.

5 *Pro muro*] Without the walls.

9 *His*] Romanis; *illis*, castellanis. We may see that *hic* is not always referred to

the latter of two, nor *ille* to the former, but sometimes put for *alius*.

10 *Signa canere*] The trumpets and cornets sounded the signal.

XCV. Sulla arrives at the Consul's camp: a character of him.

4 *De naturâ cultuque ejus*] Of his temper and manners.

5 *L. Sisenna*] This was a *Roman* historian, who flourished in the time of the *Jugurthine* war, and a long while after it: He wrote several histories, and particularly that of the civil wars of *Marius* and *Sulla*; but his works are all lost except a few fragments.

7 *Libero ore*] He durst not speak freely of the vices of *Sylla*.



tatum, sed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quòd de uxore potuit honestius consuli: facundus, callidus, & amicitia facilis: ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis: multarum rerum, ac maxumè pecuniæ largitor. Atque illi felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, nunquam super industriam fortuna fuit: multique dubitavere, fortior, an felicior esset; nam postea quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magis, an pigeat differere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, uti suprà dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea & ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benignè appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se, ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantiùs, quàm æs mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere: magis id laborare, ut illi quàm plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillimis agere: in operibus, in agmine atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interim, quod ambitio prava solet, Consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam lædere; tantummodo neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati; ple-rosque antevenire. Quibus rebus et artibus brevì Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos & sibi utilis simul, & magnam pecuniàm amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, "*quàm primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; prælii faciendi tempus adesse.*" Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere: rursus, ut antea, proximos

Y 2

ejus

N O T Æ.

2 *De uxore potuit honestius consuli*] *Potuit consuli* are here used impersonally, and signify, that his own honour or reputation might have been better consulted by him in his behaviour with respect to his wife, whom, it is said, he used ill, by indulging himself in too much intimacy with other women. In this sense *Plutarch*, in his life of *Sulla*, seems to understand these words of *Sallust*. Some however take the expression to refer only to a dishonourable marriage he made in his old age with one *Valeria*.

3 *Amicitia facilis*] Free and easy in his friendship.

*Ad simulanda negotia*] To represent matters in what light he pleased.

5 *Civilem victoriam*] His victory over the *Marian* faction, which put an end to the civil war.

6 *Industriam*] His abilities.

XCVI. *The continuation of Sulla's character.*

3 *Sollertissimus*] The most expert.

4 *Per se*] Of his own accord.

XCVII. *Jugurtha sends to Bocchus for aid: the Moor joins him with a numerous army: they both unexpectedly attack Marius.*

5 *Rationes trahere*] Sc. *animo*. Considers the reasons. We have seen *trahere* a little before in the same sense.

ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ tertiam partem, si aut Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magnâ multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Itâ amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decimâ parte die reliquâ, invadunt: rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore; &, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant: contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul Consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, & ipsi hostes aderant, & priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum, aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed cætervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros incurrunt, qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientis alios ab hostibus defendebant: pars equos ascendere, obviam hostibus ire: pugna latrocinio magis, quàm prælio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus equites, pedites permisti; cedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrumè pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere; quòd hostes numero plures & undique circumfusi erant, denique Romani veteres, novique, & ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere: atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti & instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Ne-

## N O T Æ.

1 *Mauro*] *Boccho*.2 *Integris suis finibus*] He himself being left in the entire possession of his dominions.5 *Die*] The genitive case, according to the old manner of writing.7 *Nullo impedimento*] *Nullo* is the dative case: for the antients declined *nullus, unus, solus, alius*, &c. like other nouns adjectivæ of three terminations.10 *Sarcinas colligere*] It was usual, before engaging in battle, to bring all the baggage together into one place, and set a guard over it.11 *Signum, aut imperium ullum*] *Signum* in this place either denotes the signal commonly given by sound of trumpet to begin the battle, or the word called *symbolum* or *teffera*, given by the general to the soldiers, as a badge or mark whereby to distinguish their own men from those of the enemy; or rather it may be taken to signify both. By *imperium* we are to un-

derstand the orders usually given by the general how to behave in the action.

16 *Latrocinio*] An engagement of robbers.*Prælio*] A regular battle. We may remark the difference between *pugna* and *prælium*: *pugna* serves to express any kind of engagement; *prælium* denotes a regular battle, between two armies.17 *Equites, pedites*] *Numidarum*.18 *Alios, alios—multos*] *Romanos*.21 *Ob ea scientes belli*] On that account skilled in war. The new raised troops, that had been brought by *Marius* and *Sylla* from *Italy*, were well acquainted with the various ways of fighting, *ob ea*, because they had been incorporated with the veterans, that had served under *Metellus*.22 *Orbes facere*] Formed themselves into circles or round bodies, that they might face the enemy on all sides.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio Marius territus, aut magis, quàm antea, demisso animo fuit; sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis, quàm familiarissimis, paraverat, vagari passim; ac modò laborantibus suis succurrere, modò hostis, ubi confertissimi obstitierant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cum tamen barbari nihil remittere; atque, uti Reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acriùs instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat; quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat: alter usui opportunus, quia magnâ parte editus et præceps pauca munimenta egebat. Cæterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse milites dispersos paullatim, neque minùs hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita Reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longiùs abire sinunt, sed,

## N O T Æ.

XCVIII. *After a sharp engagement, Marius is obliged to retreat, and leave the enemy masters of the field of battle.*

1 *Magis—demisso animo*] More discouraged.

5 *Manu consulere militibus*] Glareanus has been led into a strange mistake here, by the words, *quoniam imperare non poterat*, which immediately follow. He interprets it, as *Marius, in this general confusion of his troops, could not issue out his commands, he directed the soldiers, by making signs with his hands.* I wonder how such an absurdity could drop from any man's pen. He must either suppose, that in a regular engagement of many thousands, the general's voice could be heard by all his forces, (for, by the manner in which he explains it, this seems to be his sense of the matter) or that in a tumultuous, unexpected attack, the soldiers were more attentive to the waving of their commander's hand, than to the dangers that surrounded them on all sides. How ridiculous! The author means, *that as Marius, in this confused state of his affairs, could not act the general, he behaved as a soldier; he assisted his men, manu, by his valour.*

7 *Noctem pro se rati*] Looking upon

the night as favourable to themselves.

8 *Ex copia rerum*] According to the present exigence.

10 *Castris parum amplo*] Too small for a camp.

11 *Usui*] For the purpose of encamping.

14 *Neque minùs hostibus conturbatis*] Sc. *quam Romanis*: the enemy being in no less disorder, than the Romans.

15 *Pleno gradu*] With full speed. *Gradus* is derived a *gradiendo*, and serves to denote steps, rising one above another. It is also taken in the same sense as *gressus*, on account of the alternate motion of the feet: hence *gradarius equus*, an horse that walks gently. It likewise signifies firm footing, as *gradum facere*, which is not used to express the action of passing from one place to another, but the action of fixing a stepping place, or ladder, as it were, by which a passage may be effected. It is often put for a degree of honour; as also for constancy or firmness of soul; and in the *canon laxi* it marks the different degrees of consanguinity, which, like stairs, or the steps of a ladder, rise gradually one above another.

sed, utro que colle multitudine circumdato, effusi confedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari more suo lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugere, ut pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris & editoribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum verò Marius imperitiâ hostium confirmatus, quàm maxumum silentium haberi jubet: ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere: dein, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus ac paullo antè somno captis, de improvviso vestigalis, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum jubicines simul omnis signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli ignoto atque horribili sonitu repentè exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omninò facere aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formidine, quasi vecordia ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique; arma & signa militaria pleraque capta: pluresque eo prælio, quàm omnibus superioribus interemti. Nam somno & metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti cæperat, in hiberna proficiscitur: quæ, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat; neque tamen victoriâ focors, aut insolens factus; sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistrâ parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus & sagittariis, præterea cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos & extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minumè cari & regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant: simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere: apud omnis adesse: laudare, increpare merentis. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: neque se-

cus,

### N O T Æ.

- 3 *Feroces*] Elated.  
4 *Ex tenebris*] Because they had no fires in their camp.  
5 *Magnoque hortamento erant*] Gave them great encouragement, because they saw the enemy off their guard, and that they knew want of rest would render them unfit for action.

XCIX. *Marius surprises the enemy's camp: they are entirely discomfited.*

- 6 *Portis*] Castrorum.

C. *Marius marches to winter-quarters with the greatest circumspection.*

- 1 *Uti cæperat*] As he had begun before he was attacked by *Jugurtha*.

- 3 *Socors*] Negligent.

- 4 *Quadrato agmine incedere*] Marched his army in a square figure.

- 8 *Quasi nullo imposito*] As if no officer had been appointed to command them.

- 10 *Neque secus—castra munire*] Nor did he fortify his camp with less precaution than he ordered his march.



cus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitus in porta cohortis ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxilios mittere. Præterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare; vigilias ipse circuire, non tam diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset, quam uti militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sanè Marius illoque aliisque temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore magis, quam malo, exercitum coercerebat: quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars quod à pueritia consuetam duritiam, & alia, quæ cæteri miseras vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen respublica pariter, ac sævissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haud longè ab oppido Cirtâ simul undique speculatores citi sese ostendunt: quâ re hostis adesse intelligitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab aliâ parte, atque omnes idem significabant; Consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus, ibidem operitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partis distribuerat: ratus ex omnibus æquè aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primùm hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos,

## N O T Æ.

1 *Excubitus*] The first supine. The difference between *excubiæ* and *vigiliæ* has been already shewn.

3 *Non—diffidentia futuri, quæ imperavisset*] I have not met with in all *Sallust*, any one sentence so distant from the idiom of our language, as this. *Mair*, by sticking too closely to the text, makes it absolute nonsense. *Minellius* entirely mistakes the meaning, for he gives *imperavisset* a future signification, merely because he did not know, or, at least, did not recollect that the relative *qui, quæ, quod*, coming between two verbs, or between a participle and a verb, governs the latter in the subjunctive. *Perizonius* resolves, or as *Mair* calls it, compleats the sentence, in such Latin, as we have never seen before; nor is *Cortius's* jargon a whit more intelligible. After the miscarriage of so many learned men, I doubt not but it will be deemed the highest presumption, to attempt an explanation of the passage; nevertheless, I must acknowledge that I cannot avoid giving my opinion of the matter; tho' at the hazard of being as severely reflected upon by future commentators, as I have cen-

sured those who have gone before me. It seems, then, to me, that by taking *future* substantively, which is not uncommon, and supplying *eorum*, the sentence will be very plain, thus, *non diffidentia*, not through any distrust; *future*, of the future being; *eorum quæ*, of those things which, &c. In other words; not that he suspected the non-performance of those things which he had ordered.

6 *Malo*] By punishment.

CI. *Jugurtha attacks the Consul a second time, and is again defeated.*

4 *Idem significabant*] Gave the same signal. It is probable that certain signals were agreed upon between them and *Marius*.

5 *Adversum omnia paratus*] We have already seen, that he marched his army in a square body, so that he could oppose a front to the enemy, whatsoever way they came.

7 *Æquè aliquos*] He imagined that some one of the four divisions would attack the enemy in the rear, with as much advantage as any of the other three, as they were all equal in strength.

suos, turmatim & quàm maxumè confertis equis ipse alique Mauros invadunt: cæteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, &, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos erat, quòd ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis agebat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convortit: ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "*nostros frustra pugnare; paullo antè Marium suâ manu interfectum;*" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna, satis impigrè occiso pedite nostro, cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quàm fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, & in perculosos Romanos acriùs incedere. Jamque paulùm a fuga aberat, cùm Sulla, profligatis iis, quos advorsum ierat, rediens ab latere Mauris incurrit. Bocchus statim avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos & propè jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextrâ, sinistrâ omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius, fugatis equitibus, accurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes jam undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, atque viri afflicti: ac multi, vulneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modò, ac statim concidere: postremò omnia, quâ visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; & inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci Consul, haud dubiè jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quò initio profectus intenderat. Eò post diem quintum, quàm iterum barbari malè pugnaverant, legati à Boccho veniunt, qui Regis verbis a Mario petivere, "*duos quàm fidiſſimos ad eum mitteret;*

## N O T Æ.

7 *Cum plurimis*] *Suorum pugnabat.*  
*Numida*] *Jugurtha.*

8 *Ad pedites*] *To the Roman infantry.*

10 *Interfectum*] *Fuisse.*

11 *Oblitum*] *Besmeared: the participle from obliſco.*

13 *Quàm fide nuncii*] *Than on any account they gave to the relater.*

24 *Niti modò*] *They just attempted to rise.*

25 *Quâ visus erat*] *As far as eyes could view. Visus is a substantive.*

CII. *Bocchus sends to Marius for two trusty persons with whom he might confer: Sulla and Manlius are deputed: Sulla makes a speech to the King.*

3 *Iterum*] *A second time. He means the last battle that was fought.*

*mitteret; velle de suo, & de populi Romani commodo cum iis differere.*" Ille statim L. Sullam & A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant; tamen placuit verba apud Regem facere: ingenium aut avorsum uti flecterent; aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati à Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus.

"*Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia est, cùm te talem virum Dii monuere, ut aliquando pacem, quàm bellum, mallet; neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurthâ miscendo commaculares: simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem & illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio inopi melius visum, amicos, quàm servos quærere: tutiusque rati, volentibus, quàm coactis imperitare. Tibi verò nulla opportunior amicitia nostrâ: primùm, quòd procul absumus, in quo offensæ minumum, gratiâ par, ac si propè adessemus; dein quòd parentes abundè habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium, satis fuit. Atque hoc utinam à principio tibi placuisset! profectò ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multò plura bona accepisses, quàm mala perpeffus esses. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit; cui scilicet placuisse & vim, & gratiam nostram experiri: nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, uti cœpisti, perge. Multa opportuna habes, quòd faciliùs errata officiis superes. Postremò hoc in pectus tuum demitte, nunquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum esse; nam bello quid valeat, tute scis."*

Ad ea Bocchus placidè & benignè; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: *se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli* *suam*

## N O T Æ.

2 *Quamquam acciti*] Altho' invited: *quamquam* is used here, because, as the king had sent for them, it was his business to explain his intentions before they spoke.

9 *Miscendo commaculares*] You should contaminate yourself by unking with *Jugurtha*.

11 *Ad hoc*] Besides.

15 *Parentes*] Subjects.

25 *Pro delicto*] To apologize for the fault he had committed.

27 *Jure belli suam factum*] *Jugurtha*, to engage *Bocchus* effectually to his interest, and to take part with him in this war,

had promised him a third part of *Numidia*, as we are told *cap. xvii.* and it would appear from what *Bocchus* here says, that this third part had been expressly stipulated for, and particularly that it comprehended *Capſa*, and the other places out of which *Marius* had forced *Jugurtha*. *Bocchus* indeed is a little too forward in calling it *jure belli suam factam*, since it was promised under a condition not yet fulfilled, *viz. Si Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret.* But we are to remember, that *Bocchus* is talking to persons

# suam factam, eam vastari a Mario pati nequivisse: præterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Cæterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum. Dein, copiâ factâ, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognitâ legatione Sullæ & Manlii, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernaculis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus & parte equitatus proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnis præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis evenerant, seu admonitus ab aliis amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copiâ necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum & fides cognita, & ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, & quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam ipsis permittit. Illi maturè ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: dein à Gætulis latronibus in itinere circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam profugunt; quem Consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro Prætoris reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, uti meriti erant, sed accuratè et liberaliter habuit; quâ re barbari & famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, & Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum, rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignota erat: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem Regis sui, & alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentia esse credebant oratione extollunt:

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sons whom he supposes to be, and who probably at this time really were, ignorant of the articles stipulated betwixt him and Jugurtha; and therefore we are the less to wonder that he makes insinuations of what was not precisely true, especially considering that this would have the appearance of a pretty plausible apology for his past conduct.

4 Ordo.—Deinde copiâ facta, animus barbari flexus est ab amicis, quos Jugurtha corruperat donis, metuens id, quod parabatur, legatione Sullæ, & Manlii cognita.

Copiâ factâ] Legatos mittendi.

CIII. Bocchus, a second time, sends deputies to Marius: the Consul being absent,

they are treated with great humanity by Sulla, by which means he gains their confidence.

2 Obsessum] The first supine, from ob-fideo.

8 Si placeat] Mario.

13 Pro vanis hostibus] As fickle enemies.

Sed accuratè et liberaliter] But with the deference due to their rank, and with great generosity.

17 Volens] Through friendship.

18 Uti fautor consultorque—adsit] That he would favour and advise them.

20 Aut utilia, aut benevolentia] Utilia intelligit Romanis. Solemnes dictiones de fociis sunt boni utiles.



tollunt: dein Sullâ omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circiter dies xli. ibidem opperiantur.

CIV. Marius postquam infecto negotio, quo intenderat, Cirtam redit; de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque & Sullam venire jubet, itemque L. Bellienum Prætorem ab Uticâ, præterea omnis undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. In quibus Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab Consule: interea induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ & plerisque placere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ & mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Cæterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufone, qui Quæstor stipendium in Africam portaverat: duo ad Regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cum cætera, tum maxumè benignitatem & studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæque legatis ejus, postquam errasse Regem & Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam & fœdus petentibus hoc modo respondetur. "*Senatus populusque Romanus beneficii & injuriæ memor esse solet. Cæterum Boccho, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit; fœdus & amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit.*"

CV. Quibus rebus cognitis, Bocchus per literas à Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitratu communibus negotiis consulere. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, funditorumque Balearium: præterea ière sagittarii & cohors Peligna cum

Z 2

velitaribus

N O T Æ.

CIV. *The deputies of Bocchus are sent to Rome: the Senate's answer to their petition.*

1 *Quo intenderat*] Id est, ad quod perficiendum, animum vel iter intenderat. Quid is put adverbially.

3 *L. Bellienum*] According to *Asconius*, he was *Catiline's* uncle.

4 *Cognoscit*] He examines and deliberates upon.

6 *Ferocius decernunt*] Vote for rougher measures.

9 *Stipendium*] Pay for the army.

12 *Errasse*] Id est, quod erravisset.

CV. *Bocchus intreats Marius to send Sulla to treat with him; he is accordingly sent.*

3 *Funditorumque Balearium*] Of Bale-

arian slingers. *The Balearæ* were two islands in the *Mediterranean*, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca*. The inhabitants were formerly esteemed excellent slingers.

4 *Cohors Peligna*] The *Peligni* were a people in *Italy*, their metropolis was *Corsinium*; another of their chief towns was *Sulmo*, famous for being the birth place of *Ovid*.

*Cum Velitaribus armis*] The *Velites*, so called à *volando*, were *tirones*, or young soldiers, who were not formed into distinct bodies or companies, as the other orders. In battles they used to hover in loose order before the *hastati*, and begin the fight. Their arms were of the lighter sort, viz. the *parma tripudialis*, i. e. a buckler of three feet diameter, made of wood;

velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causâ: neque his secus, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux filius Bocchi, repentè in campis patentibus cum mille non ampliùs equitibus sese ostendit: qui temerè & effusè euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus & numerum ampliorem vero, & hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur se quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: Timor aliquantus, sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, & advorsum eos, quos sæpe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, ut erat, quietam nunti-  
ant.

CVI. Volux adveniens Quæstorem appellat: "*Je à patre Bocchò ob-  
viâ illis simul, & præsidio missum.*" Dein eum & proximum diem  
sine metu conjuncti eunt. Pôst, ubi castra locata, & diei vesper  
erat, repentè Maurus incerto vultu pavens ad Sullam accurrit dicit-  
que; "*sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham baud procul ab-  
esse:*" simul, uti noctu clam secum profugeret, rogat atquehorta-  
tur. Ille animo feroci negat "*se totiens fusum Numidam pertimes-  
cere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset,  
mansurum potiùs, quàm proditis, quos ducebat, turpi fugâ incertæ,  
ac forsitan pôst paullò morbo interitura, vitæ parceret.*" Cæterùm  
ab eodem monitus, "*uti noctu proficiscerentur,*" consilium approbat:  
ac statim milites cœnatos esse; in castris ignisque quàm creberrimos  
fieri, dein primâ vigiliâ silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere  
fessis omnibus, Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cum  
equites Mauri nunciant, "*Jugurtham circiter duùm millium inter-  
vallo antè consedisse.*" Quod postquam auditum est, tum verò  
ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos à Voluce & insidiis  
circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque  
apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At

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wood, and covered over with leather, a Spanish sword, seven *bastæ*, or javelins for darting at the enemy, with a *galea*, or light casque for their head, made generally of the skin of some wild beast. See cap. xlv. n. 5.

1 *Atque*] Than.

5 *Temerè & effusè*] In a loose disorderly manner.

CVI. Sulla's march is intercepted by Jugurtha.

4 *Maurus*] Volux.

*Incerto vultu*] With confusion in his countenance: *incerto*, because his colour frequently changed.

12 *Cœnatos*] Id est, postquam cœnaverint.

13 *Primâ vigiliâ*] The night was divided into four watches by the Romans, each watch consisting of three hours.

18 *Manu vindicandum*] That Volux ought to be punished with death.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuriâ Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "*uti fortem animum gererent: sæpe antea paucis strenuis adversus multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in prælio minùs pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, & in maximo metu nudum & cæcum corpus ad hostis vortere.*" Dein Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem maximum obtestatus, uti sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, "*ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis caliditate Jugurthæ, cui videlicet speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, & spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent; credere illum nihil palàm ausurum, cum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palàm transire: sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sullâ iturum.*" Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improvviso accesserant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurthâ, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quò ire intenderant, perventum est.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum & familiaritèr agebat: præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, & subdolè speculator Bocchi consilia: præterea Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, cæterum materno genere impar; nam (pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat;) Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque: quem Bocchus fidum esse Romanis multis ante tempestatibus expertus, illicò ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "*paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus ipse deligeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere, neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret; quò res communis licentiùs gereretur; nam ab insidiis*"

## N O T Æ.

CVII. Sulla marches through Jugurtha's camp, and arrives safely at the place of his destination.

6 *Cæcum corpus*] Id est, tergum.

7 *Quoniam hostilia faceret*] Since he acted like an enemy.

9 *Dolo*] By any treachery of his.

11 *Haberet*] Scil. Jugurtha.

12 *Ejus*] Volucis.

15 *Ut in tali negotio*] As matters were circumstanced.

CVIII. Bocchus sends one of his courtiers to Sulla, in order to appoint a day for an interview.

1 *Multum*] Frequently.

3 *Orator*] As an ambassador.

10 *Integra*] Because he had not entered upon any negotiation with Jugurtha's deputy.

11 *Licentiùs*] With the more freedom.

*diis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse.*" Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magis Punicâ fide, quàm ob ea quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos & Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multùmque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet: lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit: "*pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cætera occultè, aut nullo, aut quàm paucissimis præsentibus.*" simul edocet, quæ sibi responderentur. Postquam, sicuti voluerant, congressi, dicit: *se missum à Consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agiturus foret.*" Tum Rex, uti præceptum fuerat, "*post diem decimum redire*" jubet; "*ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum.*" Dein ambo in castra sua digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla à Boccho occultè arceritur: ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur: præterea Dabar inter-nunciarius, sanctus vir ex sententia jurat ambobus. Ac statim Rex sic incipit.

CX. Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti Rex maximus in hac terrâ, & omnium, quos novi opulentissimus, privato homini gratiam deberem.

### N O T Æ.

2 *Punicâ fide*] The Carthaginians were reputed false and treacherous in their dealings; and hence *punica fides* came to be a proverb, signifying any vile, execrable, or detestable dissimulation. On the other hand, *attica fides* denotes what is honest, sincere, and may be depended on. *Vel. Patt. II. cap. xxiii. Adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper & in omni re, quicquid sincerâ fide gereretur, id Romani, Atticâ fieri prædicarent.*

4 *Lubidinem*] His inclination.

CIX. Sulla has a public and a private interview with Bocchus.

5 *Uti præceptum*] As he had before been entrusted by Sulla.

7 *Ambo in castra sua digressi*] Commentators are much divided as to the meaning of this expression: Some take *ambo* to refer to Bocchus and Sulla; but *Cortius* is positive that *Sallust* means *Aspar* and Sulla. Some again take *castra* to signify the camp of Bocchus, and that formed by Sulla and the party who came along with him; which two camps we

may suppose to have been at no great distance from one another. But *Cortius* will have it, that the two camps here meant are, the one that of *Jugurtha*, which was a good way off, as may be gathered from *cap. cxii.* since it took *Aspar* eight days in going to it and returning back; and the other that of *Marius*, in and about *Cirta*, which was still at a greater distance; and he takes *digressi* to import, not that they actually went, but that they parted for, or as if they had been resolved to go to, their respective camps.

to *Ex sententia—ambobus*] If this be the true reading, it means that *Dabar* was agreeable both to *Salla* and to *Bocchus*. Three editions have it, *ex sententia ambobus jurat*, and explains it, that *Dabar* swore to interpret faithfully between them: but, to say nothing of the harshness of the expression, which is very forced and unnatural in this sense, I do not see the necessity of swearing *Dabar*, when *Sallust* has just told us, that none but faithful interpreters were admitted, except him.



deberem. Et berculè, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultrò egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod cæteri dolere solent, ego lætor : fuerit mihi pretium eguisse aliquando tuæ amicitiae, quâ apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id aded experiri licet : arma, viros, pecuniam, postremò quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere : et, quoad vires, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris ; semper apud me integra erit : denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego existumo, Regem armis, quam munificentia, vinci, minùs flagitiosum. Cæterum de republicâ vestrà, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum unquam volui : finis meos adversum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ità placet : gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurthâ bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me & Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare finam. Præterea si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis.

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter & modicè ; de pace & de communibus rebus multis differuit. Denique Regi patefecit, quod polliceatur, senatum & populum Romanum, quoniam armis amplius valuissent, non in gratia habituros : faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis, quàm sua, retulisse videretur ; id aded in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet. quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, ut illi plurimum deberetur ; amicitiam, fædus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultrò adventuram." Rex primum negitare : "affinitatem, cognationem, præterea fædus intervenisse : ad hoc metuere, ne fluxâ fide usus, popularium animos avorterei ; queis & Jugurtha carus, & Romani invisi erant." Denique sæpius fatigatus, lenitur &

ex

## N O T Æ.

2 Id imminutum] That circumstances are changed.

3 Fuerit mihi pretium] Be it fortunate to me.

6 Et, quoad vires] And whilst you live, never think your kindness sufficiently repaid. He means the friendly reception Sulla had given to his ambassadors.

9 Minus flagitiosum] Less shameful.

11 Finis meos] He means that part of Numidia, which Jugurtha had promised to surrender to him.

1 Pro se] With respect to himself.

Modicè] Modestly.

5 Quoniam Jugurthæ copiam haberet] As he had Jugurtha in his power.

7 Debetur] A Populo Romano.

Numidiæ partem] This promise of Sulla was exactly performed ; for, after the delivery of Jugurtha, all that part of Numidia betwixt the rivers Mulucha and Ampsaga was given to Bocchus.

8 Ultrò] Tho' he should not demand it.

10 Fluxâ fide] Erga Jugurtham.

CXI. Sulla engages Bocchus to deliver Jugurtha to the Romans.

ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Cæterùm ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus erat, quæ utilia visa, constituunt. Ità, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

CXII. At Rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum appellat dicitque; "*sibi per Dabarem ex Sullâ cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum componi: quamobrem Regis sui sententiam exquireret.*" Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ proficiscitur. Dein ab illo cuncta doctus, properato itinere, post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, & ei nunciat, "*Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parùm fidere: sæpe antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustrâ fuisse. Cæterùm Bocchus, si ambobus consultum esset, ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut unâ ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in colloquium veniretur; ibique sibi Sullam traderet; cùm talem virum in potestate habuisset, tum fore, uti jussu senatûs populique Romani sædus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non suâ ignaviâ, sed ab rempublicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri.*"

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promittit; cæterùm dolo, an verè, cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, uti vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi adversæ. Postea tempore & loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur Bocchus Sullam modò, modò Jugurthæ legatum appellare, benignè habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi paritèr læti, ac spei bonæ pleni esse. Sed nocte eâ, quæ proxima fuit ante diem colloquio

### N O T Æ.

1 *Ordo.*—Cæterum illi constituunt ea, quæ sunt visa utilia ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida defessus bello, erat avidissimus.

3 *Composito dolo*] Having laid the plot.

CXII. Jugurtha, the more readily to obtain peace from the Romans, endeavours to persuade Bocchus to deliver Sulla into his hands.

3 *Componi*] Be ended.

7 *Sæpe antea*] He had before concluded a peace once with *Bestia*, and again with *Aulus Albinus*; but the senate refused to ratify either.

8 *Ambobus*] *Boccho et Jugurthæ.*

12 *Non suâ ignaviâ*] The Romans were not fond of redeeming cowards, such were often left to the mercy of their enemies;

but persons who, in the service of their country, had become prisoners, not thro' their own cowardice or misconduct, but the treachery of the enemy, were ransomed by them at any price; and this *Jugurtha* well knew.

CXIII. *Bocchus delivers Jugurtha to Sulla, who carries him to Marius.*

7 *Ordo.*—Sed Maurus, amicis adhibitis, ac statim cæteris remotis, voluntate immutata, ipse dicitur agitavisse multum secum ea nocte, quæ fuit proxima ante diem decretum colloquio, *existens* variis vultu, colore, ac motu corporis, pariter atque animo: quæ scilicet occulta pectoris, ipso tacente, *Bocchus* patefecisse immutatione oris.

quo decretum, Maurus, adhibitis amicis, ac statim immutatâ voluntate, remotis cæteris, dicitur secum ipse multum agitavisse, vultu, colore, ac motu corporis pariter, atque animo varius: quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris, oris immutatione patefecisse. Tamen postremò Sullam arceri jubet, & ex illius sententia Numidæ insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, & ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; cum paucis amicis & Quæstore nostro, quasi obviis honoris causâ, procedit in tumultum, facillum visu insidiantibus. Eòdem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Cæteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ victus traditur, & ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione & M. Manlio, malè pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique & inde usque ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere: alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidiâ confectum, & Jugurtham Romam victum adduci nunciatum est;

A a

Marius

## N O T Æ.

1 *Immutatâ voluntate*] He had resolved to ask their advice, with respect to what he ought to do, but he immediately changed his mind, and dismissed them.

2 *Vultu—corporis*] The expression is somewhat singular, and one may think *corporis* superfluous; but as it is to be taken explicatively, and in opposition to *animi*, it is not without its own beauty. We meet with several such superfluities in Sallust, such as, *timor animi*, *virtus animi*, *solis ardores*, *navium carinæ*, &c.

11 *Sullæ victus traditur*] Plutarch informs us, that Sulla was so proud of his success in this affair, that he caused to be made for himself an *annulus signatorius*, or *sealing ring*, on which was represented *Bocchus* delivering up *Jugurtha* to him. But this piece of vanity in Sulla gave great offence to *Marius*.

CXIV. Cæpio and Manlius are defeated by the Cimbri and Teutones: Marius is elected Consul in his absence.

1 *Advorsum Gallos*] Or rather *advorsum Germanos*, for these here meant were the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Tigurini, a ve-

ry numerous people, being upwards of 300,000, going about in quest of new settlements. They had sent to the senate at Rome, desiring they would give them some land, but were refused, as we have the history in *Flor.* III. cap. iii. *Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt. Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Cæpio sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Adum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset.*

2 *Male pugnatum*] They lost both their camps, together with 80,000 men.

3 *Illique*] The Romans of that time.

4 *Cum Gallis pro salute*] About the year of Rome 364, the Gauls took and burnt the city, which struck such a mighty terror into the Romans, and filled them with such dreadful apprehensions of the Gauls, that for several ages after, even down to the days of our author, the Gallick name was more formidable to them than that of any other nation whatsoever.

Marius Consul absens factus est, & ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit. Ex eâ tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ sunt.

## N O T Æ.

1 *Marius Consul absens factus*] This shews the high opinion the people then entertained of *Marius*; for it was a thing exceeding rare, and very extraordinary, nay, it was a dispensing with the law itself, which forbade any one to be elected Consul in his absence, or to be rechosen, till ten years at least had intervened.

2 *Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit*] This was the year of Rome 649, and the day on which the new Consuls entered upon their office, which was a great solemnity by itself, but as it was also the day of the triumph, we may well suppose that the pomp and splendour, in which *Marius* then appeared, was such, as abundantly justifies our author in saying, *magnâ gloriâ triumphavit*. On this occasion *Marius* exhibited a sight to the Romans, which they scarcely ever expected to have seen, I mean *Jugurtha* in chains, as we learn from *Eutrop.* IV. cap. xxviii. *Ante curram Marii Jugurtha cum duobus filiis ductus est catenatus*. And *Plutarch*, in his life of *Marius*, informs us, that *Jugurtha*, as he walked in the procession, ran distracted. After the ceremony was over, he was cast into prison

and the Lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was thrown stark naked into a deep dungeon, that was to be his grave; upon going down into which, *vultu in risum verso*, he uttered these words, *Hercules, quàm frigidum nobis est balneum*. Here, after struggling six days with cold and hunger, he ended his wicked life by a wretched death. Agreeable to this account are the following verses, subjoined to some of the old manuscripts,

*Nisse cupis vulgò non cognita fata Jugurthæ,*  
*Ut Plutarchus ait, carcere clausus obit.*

2 *Ed tempestate*] This is said emphatically, and in opposition to what followed; for, some years after this, *Marius*, pursuing the ambitious purposes of his aspiring soul, carried matters to such an immoderate height, as introduced the civil wars betwixt him and *Sulla*, which brought vast destruction and desolation upon Rome and all Italy.



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# I N D E X

## RERUM MAXIME MEMORABILIIUM.

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Bruti, dum ab Roma aberat, domus propter Semproniam conjurationis Catilinaræ non aliena J. 40.

## C.

**C**æsar Catulum, quem in pontificatus petitione vicerat, et Pisōnem, quem repetundarum accusaverat, inimicos habuit; et tamen Ciceronem uterque neque precibus nec precio impellere quiverunt, ut inter conjuratos falso nominaretur C. 49. ei Statilius traditur custodiendus C. 46. ex senatu egredienti nonnulli equites gladio minitantur C. 50. ejus oratio et sententia de conjuratis C. 51. cum Catone comparatur C. 54.  
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Curius e conjuratis unus, senatu aliquando probri gratia a censoribus motus, Fulviæ, cum qua vetus ei stupri consuetudo, conjurationem aperit C. 22, 23.  
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## D.

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## E.

**E**lephantum Numidarum quatuor capti, quadraginta interfecti J. 53.

## F.

**F**abius Sanga Allobrogum patronus C. 41.

Fulvia

# I N D E X.

Fulvia conjurationem ex Curio, qui-  
cum consueverat, cognitum patefacit  
C. 23.

Fulvius (A.) senatoris filius, ex itinere,  
quod ad Catilinam instituerat; retrac-  
tus, jussu parentis interficitur C. 39.

## G.

**G**ætulorum mores J. 18. eos Jugur-  
tha docet militaria facere J. 80.

Galli gloria belli ante Romanos C. 61.  
adversus Gallos a Q. Cæpione et M.

Manlio male pugnatum J. 114.

Gauda, Manastabalis filius, Masinissæ  
nepos, cui petenti regis honores Me-  
tellus negaverat, a Mario ad ultio-  
nem de imperatore sumendam sollici-  
tatur J. 65.

Gladiatorum familiarum in municipia distri-  
buuntur C. 30.

Gracchus et M. Fulvius, consule Opi-  
mio, interfecit J. 16. Gracchus et Ti-  
berius plebeis libertatis vindices occisi  
J. 42.

Græci facundia ante Romanos C. 61.

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J. 5.

## H.

**H**annibal Italiæ opes maxime attri-  
vit J. 5.

Hercules in Hispania interiit J. 18.

Hiempsal Micipsæ filius J. 5. despicit ig-  
nositatem Jugurthæ, et Jugurthæ  
hortatu a Numida quodam occiditur  
J. 11, 13.

## J.

**J**ugurtha Manastabalis filius, ex con-  
cubina ortus, a Micipsa cum ipsius  
liberis educatur; dein ad bellum Nu-  
mantinum mittitur J. 5, 6, &c. ubi  
a Scipione magnifice donatus et lau-  
datus est, et ad Micipsam cum literis  
commendatitiis remissus J. 8. a Mi-  
cipsa moriente adoptatur, et cum ip-  
sius filius testamento hæres instituitur  
J. 9. Micipsæ decreta rescindi curat,  
Hiempsalem per insidias opprimit J.  
12. omnem Numidiam occupare pa-  
rat, Atherbale fugato; ac Romam  
mittit legatos, cum largis muneribus,  
per quos se purgavit J. 13, &c. me-  
liorem Numidici regni portionem for-  
titure, Opimio Romanæ legationis prin-  
cipe in suas partes adducto J. 16. in  
Atherbalis regnum animum intendit;  
et agris ejus vastatis, ipsum fugere  
Cirtam compellit, Cirtamque obsidet  
J. 20, 21, &c. legatis Romanis semel  
atque iterum respondet J. 22. Cirtâ

per deditionem potitus, Atherbalem,  
Numidasque omnes puberes ac nego-  
tiatores interficit J. 26. filium duos-  
que familiares ad senatum legat, qui  
infectis rebus discesserunt J. 28. dein  
cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit  
J. 29. cum Cassio prætor Romam  
venit J. 33. Bæbioque tribuno plebis  
pecunia corrupto frustra a Memmio  
accusatur J. 34. necis, quam Bomil-  
car Massivæ intulerat reus Italia ju-  
betur decedere J. 35. bello in Africa  
renovato, Albinum consulem ludifi-  
cat, Albinique Romam reversi fratrem  
Aulum prætorem in spem pacis  
primo inducit, postea ejus castra de  
improviso circumvenit J. 36, &c. et  
exercitum sub jugum mittit J. 38.  
ad Metellum legatos supplicatum mit-  
tit J. 46. cum eo varia fortuna vari-  
isque artibus, modo insidiis, modo  
aperto Marte certat J. 49 ad 62. de-  
ditionem facit, cujus mox ponit J.  
62. bellum renovat J. 66. Bocchum  
socerum in societatem adducit J. 61.  
cumque illo Marium aggressus J. 97.  
magna clade vincitur J. 99. altero de-  
inde prælio, dolo quidem, sed minus  
feliciter usus, fugatur J. 101. a Boc-  
cho tandem proditus, Sullæ victus  
traditur, et ad Marium deducitur J.  
114.

## L.

**L**acedæmonii et Athenienses in  
Græciâ cæpere urbes atque na-  
tiones subigere C. 2.

Legati Romanorum, regnum Numidicæ  
divisum decem missi J. 16. Atherba-  
lem et Jugurtham jubent arma po-  
nere J. 22. Jugurthæ pacem imperan-  
tes frustra discedunt J. 25. Bocchi  
ad senatum J. 105.

Lentulus ad conjurandum sum cives,  
tum alios sollicitat; per Umbrenum  
Allobroges tentat C. 41. Vulturio  
dat literas ad Catilinam C. 44. a  
Cicerone, quod prætor erat, manu in  
senatum ducitur; cumque liberti sui  
ac clientes eum eripere frustra conati  
essent, Lentulo Spintheri adili in cus-  
todiam traditur C. 46. in Tullianum  
carcerem demissus occiditur C. 62.

Leptitani focii Romano populo semper  
fideles ad Metellum legatos præsi-  
dium adversus Hamilcarem quandam  
oratum mittunt J. 77.

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M.

**M** Agitratu minores vigiliis per urbem præerant C. 30. magistratuum insignia à Tuscis sumpta C. 55.

**Mamili** rogatio contra Jugurthæ fautores J. 40.

**Manlius** conjuratorum unus belli facienti princeps C. 24. ad Q. Marcium regem epistolam mittit C. 33.

**Manastabal** Masinissæ filius morbo absumitur J. 6.

**Manilius Mancinus** trib. pleb. J. 73.

**Manius Torquatus** bello Gallico filium contra imperium in hostes pugnantem necari iussit C. 59.

**Manlius Marii** legatus J. 86.

**Manlius** et Cæpio male cum Gallis pugnant J. 114.

**Marcus** rex Fesulas contra conjuratos missus C. 30. respondet Manlii conjurati legatis C. 34.

**Marius Metelli** legatus J. 46. Siccam frumentatum missus J. 56. dum Uticæ sacrificat, ab haruspice jubetur omnia prospera sperare J. 63. Arpini natus et educatus, militum tribunatum primo adeptus, inde ad alios gradatim magistratus evectus; ab Metello petundi gratiâ missionem rogat J. 63. Metello dehortante accenditur, et adversus eum Gaudam concitat J. 64. a Metello dimissus J. 73. consulatum obtinet, et imperator adversus Jugurtham creatur, ib. habet orationem ad populum J. 85. in Africam proficiscitur, et Uticam advectus exercitum a Rutilio traditum accipit J. 86. Capsam incendit J. 91. castellumque haud longe a flumine Muluchâ suum Liguris ejusdem operâ capit J. 92, &c. Bocchi et Jugurthæ exercitum bis fundit J. 97, 98, &c. absens fit consul, Galliamque provinciam consequitur, et triumphat J. 101.

**Masinissa** Numidarum rex in amicitiam a Scipione receptus, Carthaginenses vincit, et Syphacem capit J. 5.

**Masiva**, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos regnum Numidiæ affectat J. 34, 35. Jugurthæ iussu per insidias obtruncatur J. 35.

**Memmius** tribun. pleb. ad populum verba facit J. 27. suadet uti Jugurtha Romam per Cassium prætorem adduceretur interpositâ fide publicâ

J. 32. adductum accusat J. 33.

**Metellus** Quint. Celer prætor in agrum Picenum mittitur C. 30. Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam mittitur *ibid.* Metellus cum Silano consul Numidiam fortitur J. 43. legatos a Jugurthâ ad se missos promissis ad Jugurtham sibi tradendum hortatur J. 46. Vagæ præsidium imponit J. 47. cum Jugurthâ pugnat J. 50, &c. Jugurthæ dolis fatigatus Zamam oppugnare statuit J. 56. quod cum frustra esset, discedit J. 61. Bomilcarem pollicitationibus aggreditur, ut Jugurtham vivum aut necatum sibi tradat J. 61. superbiâ inflatus J. 64. Marium a consulatu petendo dehortatur, ib. ac tandem dimittit J. 73. Vagenses rebellantes ulciscitur J. 66. Romæ capitis arcessitur a plebe J. 73. Numidas fugat, Thalamque, quod Jugurthâ confugerat, maximo cum labore capit J. 76. Lepitanis præsidium orantibus cohortes Ligurum quatuor et Annium præfectum mittit J. 77. Mario consulatum et Numidiam datam fert impotentiùs J. 82. Boccho per legatos pacem suadet cum Romanis J. 83. Marii conspectum fugit J. 87. Romæ contra spem latissimis animis excipitur J. 88.

**Micipsa** Masinissæ filius et regni hæres, Jugurtham, cujus potestatem et crescentem in dies gloriam formidabat, ad bellum Numantium mittit, eum periculis objectandi et opprimendi gratiâ J. 6, &c. eum tamen, virtute ipsius permotus, adoptat, et hæredem cum suis filiis instituit; eique, paulo ante mortem, filiisque mandata dat suprema J. 10.

**Mulucha** flumen Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungit J. 92. ad Mulucham castellum Marius capit J. 92 *ad 95.* Murena citerioris Galliæ legatus C. 42. Muthul Numidiæ flumen J. 48.

N.

**N** Abdalsa a Bomilcare in consilium et Jugurthæ perniciem vocatus, a cliente proditus, J. 70. Jugurtham tamen placat J. 71.

Numantia deleta J. 8.

Numidarum ingenium, et mores J. 46, 54, 81, 90, 12, 18.

O.

**O** Ctavius Rufus quæstor J. 104.

Opimius legationis Romæ princeps a Jugurthâ corrumpitur J. 16.

Oratio



# I N D E X.

Oratio Catilinæ ad conjuratos C. 20. ad milites C. 64. Cæsaris et Catonis de conjuratis C. 51, &c. ad 61. Micipsæ ad filios et Jugurtham J. 10. Atherbalis ad senatum J. 14, &c. Memmii ad populum J. 31. Marii ad populum J. 84. Sullæ ad Bocchum J. 102, &c. Bocchi ad Sullam, ib.

## P.

**P**aulus lege Plautia Catilinam inter-rogat C. 31.  
 Persæ navibus in Africam transvecti J. 18.  
 Perses cum Romanis bellum gessit J. 51.  
 Petreio legato exercitum permittit Antonius pedibus æger C. 59.  
 Philæni fratres se suamque vitam reipub. condonant J. 80.  
 Phœnices Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque multas urbes in orâ Africa maritimâ condiderunt J. 19.  
 Piso Cn. adolescens factiosus cum Catilina consilia communicat: in citeriorem Hispaniam quæstor missus, ibique ab equitibus Hispanis occisus C. 18, 19, 20.  
 Piso C. in judicio repetundarum oppug-natus, ideoque Cæsari infensus C. 49.  
 Pompeius M. Licinio Crasso invisus C. 17. ob potentiam formidabilis C. 19. cum Crasso consul tribuniciam potestatem restituit C. 38. ad bellum Mithridaticum et maritimum missus C. 39.  
 Pompeius Rufus prætor Capuam missus C. 30.  
 Pomptinus prætor C. 45.  
 Punicum bellum secundum J. 5. Punica fides J. 108.

## Q.

**Q**uæstiores tres ex Mamilianâ roga-tione rogantur J. 40.  
 Quæstor pro prætore J. 19.

## R.

**R**hodium civitas populo Romano, cujus opibus creverat, insida C. 51.  
 Romæ origo, incrementum, fortitudo C. 6, &c. vitia C. 10. omnia vena-lia, ib. Romanorum mores ante et post Carthaginem deletam J. 41, &c.  
 Rutilius legatus Metelli J. 50.

## S.

**S**allustius adolescentulus studio ad remp. fertur, ubi multa adverfa

passus C. 3. res populi Rom. gestas carptim perscribere statuit C. 4. ma-gistratum adeptus J. 4. libros regis Hiempsalis Punicos per interpretem consulit J. 17.

Scaurus Hiempsalis mortem severe vin-dicandam censet J. 15. senatus prin-ceps et consularis in Africam legatur J. 25. Calpurnii Bestiæ consilia socius et adminisset consiliorum J. 28. mag-nitudine pecuniæ a bono in pravum abstractus Jugurthæ favet J. 25. &c. quæstor creatus J. 40.

Scipio Africanus Masinissam in amicitiam recipit J. 5. in bello Numantino imperator omnes ferè res asperas agit per Jugurtham, quem donatum et pro concione laudatum dimittit cum litte-ris ad Micipsam J. 7, 8.

Sempronia inter conjuratos C. 25.  
 Sænius senator litteras de Manlii conju-ratione in senatu recitat C. 29.

Septimius Cameræ a Catilinâ in agrum Picenum mittitur C. 27.

Sextius quæstor in Vagam Jugurthæ op-pidum mittitur J. 29.

Sicca oppidum omnium primum a Jugur-thâ deficit J. 56.

Silanus consul designatus sententiam de conjuratis primum rogatur C. 50.

Sisenna optimè et diligentissime omnium, qui res Sullæ dixere, persecutus est J. 95.

Sittius Nucerinus cum exercitu in Mau-ritaniâ consilii Catilinæ particeps J. 21.

Sibyllini libri C. 47.

Sulla P. consul designatus, legibus am-bitus interrogatus pœnas dedit C. 18.

Sullæ L. dominatio C. 5, 11. profapia, educatio, mores J. 95, 96. in Marii castra cum equitatu venit J. 97. ejus facundia: oratio ad Bocchum J. 102. Bocchi legatos liberaliter habet J. 103. Volucem Bocchi filium castris abire jubet J. 107. a Boccho occulte accersitur J. 109. cum eo de pace et prodendo Jugurtha agit J. 110. Da-masippum, et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reip. creverant, jugulari jubet C. 54.

Suthul Numidiz oppidum, ubi regis the-sauri erant, ab Aplo obsidetur, et spe pactationis relinquitur J. 37.

Syphacis capti regnum Masinissæ dono dedit populus Rom. J. 5.

Syries duæ, inter quas Leptis et Phile-non aræ J. 19.

Tarquinius.

# I N D E X.

T.

**T**arquinius ad Catilinam proficiscens, ex itinere retractus, dicit se de conjuratione indicaturum; Crassum nominat, et indicii falsi suspectus, Cicerone consulente, in vincula conjicitur C. 48.

**Thala** Numidiæ oppidum, ubi Jugurthæ thesauri J. 75. a Metello expugnatur J. 76. et capitur, ib.

**Thirmida** oppidum, ubi Hiempsal occisus est J. 12.

**Tiberii** Neronis sententia de conjuratis C. 49.

**Tullianum** locus in carcere, ubi de Lentulo supplicium sumptum est C. 62.

**Turpilius** Vagæ præfectus, coorta seditione, unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus J. 67. jussus a Metello causam dicere, condemnatur, et capite pœnas solvit J. 69.

V.

**V**aga forum rerum venalium totius Numidiæ maxime celebratum; ubi præsidium imponit Metellus J. 47.

**Vagenfes** seditionis rei puniuntur J. 66. *ad* J. 70.

**Valerius** Flaccus et C. Pomtinus prætores in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatusprehendunt C. 45.

**Vargunteius** senator cum Cornelio equite Romano Ciceronem domi imperatum de improvîso opprimere constituit C. 28.

**Umbrenus** Allobroges ad conjurandum hortatur C. 40.

**Volux** Bocchi filius J. 101. a Metello suspectus abire castris jubetur J. 107.

**Volturnus** Crotoniensis a Lentulo conjurato cum Allobrogum legatis et literis ad Catilinam missus, in ponte Mulvio deprehenditur C. 44, 45. conjurationem patefacit C. 46. eique ac Allobrogum legatis ob indicium a senatu præmia decernuntur C. 49.

Z.

**Z**ama Numidiæ arx J. 56. a Metello frustra oppugnatur J. 58, *ad* 59, et 60, *ad* 61.



## F I N I S.

